

# The Copying and Collection of Music in the Trouvère

Chansonnier F-Pn fr. 24406

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Prepared under the direction of Dr Sam Barrett

This dissertation is submitted for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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F-Pn fr. 24406

Nicholas W. Bleisch

F-Pn fr. 24406 is a codex of 155 folios containing, along with two Old-French prose works and a series of religious lyrics, 301 vernacular songs, all but one with notation. Despite its rich contents, fr. 24406 rarely receives mention in lists of the most important trouvère chansonniers. The majority of its contents are held in common with several of the other twenty chansonniers with notation. Editors consistently prefer other manuscripts' musical and textual readings to those of fr. 24406, because of the uniqueness of its readings and its supposed inaccuracy. In this thesis, I argue that modern editorial principles have biased scholarship against perceiving what fr. 24406 has to offer and that both its history and its contents are to be valued. Its music scribes, by their very individuality and even their mistakes, reveal much about the notated transmission of the songs, about the previous existence of now-lost sources, and about the craftsmanship displayed by notators of vernacular monophony. I propose to view what has been seen as sloppiness in fr. 24406 as its flexibility. The medieval songbook, sometimes seen as an obstacle to scholarly access to authored originals or to medieval performances, is treated as in itself a worthy work of art.

The thesis traces the themes of flexibility and scribal intelligence through the history of fr. 24406. My point of reference is the moment of copying and thus the thesis divides naturally into three parts: before, during and after copying. I begin after, with the combination shelf-mark's two component manuscripts. The question of their relationship offers an occasion to trace the book's usage since its compilation and changing scholarly opinions since its first notice. The task of manuscript description is thus largely accomplished through the lens of secondary scholarship. For the manuscript's prehistory, I mine codicological evidence and apply musical comparison to demonstrate the existence of multiple lost, notated exemplars for fr. 24406. The final part of the thesis is then devoted to describing the notators against this backdrop. Comparison of notational techniques between sources lets us pinpoint the decisions of fr. 24406's notators and describe their adaptability, their intelligence, and their craft.



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## Preface

PLANS CHANGE. This thesis was originally intended to be about the earliest *Jeux-partis*. An analysis of these debate poems would have fostered discussions of variance, authorship, intentionality, and the role of performers and notators in the shaping of melodic versions. That scribal role proved more challenging to define and more fascinating to examine than anticipated, most of all in the manuscript containing the most unexpected and unique melodies, the trouvère chansonnier F-Pn français 24406, conventionally known by the siglum *V*.<sup>1</sup> Without understanding to what extent scribes revised, corrupted, or invented melodies, very little can be surmised about those melodies' current notated shape. The scribes' activity also holds interest for its own sake, beyond the instrumental attraction of peeling back one more layer of distortion covering over the hypothetical original. The notators' active intelligence and musical initiative make their work of equal interest to that of the composers and the immediacy of the written evidence they left behind them makes the subject more tractable. The topic of this thesis is therefore the habits of the music scribes of trouvère chansonnier *V* and their adaptation to their changing compilational environment. In the following chapters, I consider the evidence that allows us to describe particular moments of interpretation and creation that must have occurred for the music notators who worked on *V* to have inscribed what they did in the parchment. That included the act of reading the text already found there and musical texts found elsewhere; singing or hearing, in that the processes of notating a piece

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the thesis, I refer to all manuscripts by their RISM siglum in the first citation and by their trouvère siglum in all subsequent instances. For the purposes of disambiguation, I also provide troubadour sigla in the format *Troub*[*X*] when these collections are referenced. The first section of the bibliography lists all manuscripts cited.

must elicit an imagined performance of the melody; and judging both the aesthetic ‘sound’ of the music on the page and its look. These are all clues to a musical language; taken together, they comprise the notator’s craft.

The three parts of this thesis address the story of *V* from the preliminary stages of its compilation and preconditions of its notation to its travels and reception up to the present. I have been obliged to organize the parts in reverse: instead of discussing the manuscript’s history before, during, and after notation, I have begun with its subsequent history, then looked behind the manuscript to the sources that must have predated it, and only then examined the moment of copying. The manuscript has never existed in a vacuum and the first task, that of Part I, must be to reflect on the historical circumstances that shape our perception of it and how the codex as a whole has been perceived throughout its existence. The notators’ work in turn can only be understood after establishing what they were working from, and thus what they adapted to. This, in Part II, will be determined through codicological means and melodic comparison. Part III then deals with the craftsmanship of the notators, their adaptive and adapting approach to melody. The final chapters of the thesis thus replace scribal inconsistency with scribal flexibility. Notation changes and notators change with it.

My gratitude goes to all those whose moral and intellectual support made this project a reality, particularly to my parents and to Emeline for their forbearance and encouragement. Much of the research on this thesis was completed in Paris, thanks to the hospitality of the École normale supérieure and the support of King’s College. For this, thanks are especially due to Professor Bill Burgwinkle for his emotional and logistical support, as well as for his generosity with his time and academic advice.

Thanks also go to Dr Charlotte Denoël and the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale; to Dr Martin Dippon and the Bruno Stäblein Archiv; and to Dr Hudson and Professor Callahan and to the National Endowment for the Humanities for hosting me at a seminar that helped consolidate many of the ideas expressed below. I would also like to thank Dr Teresa Webber, Dr Ann Buckley, Professor Elizabeth Brown, Professor John Haines, Dr Eleanor Giraud, Professor Daniel O’Sullivan, and Professor Christopher Callahan for answering many importunate questions and fruitful conversations on the topics to be discussed in the following chapters. Particular thanks goes to the Cambridge International Trust whose generous support made the PhD possible.

I am especially indebted to all those who read and commented on sections and versions of this thesis: to Dr Nicholas Bell and Professor Elizabeth Eva Leach for their detailed reading and constructive criticism; to Professor Susan Rankin for hosting many evenings of stimulating debate and providing invaluable guidance; to Dr Sean Curran for his untiring support and limitless supply of useful recommendations; and most of all to Dr Sam Barrett for his stellar mentorship, his tolerance, his fortitude in correcting the same mistakes many times, and for his trust. Without their help, this document could not have existed. Any errors it contains are my fault alone.

# Part I

## The Manuscript through Time

### or the Many Grades of fr. 24406

THE FIRST PART OF THE DISSERTATION is devoted to the manuscript as an object and its function. During the long history of *V* (fr. 24406), its producers and owners adapted the codex and reimagined its use, starting even before its compilation was complete. Though *V* lacks the jarring mutilations and reorderings of some chansonniers such as *A* (F-AS 657) or *M* (F-Pn fr. 844), subtle shifts in layout, decoration, and content reveal that the manuscript was continually repurposed as time progressed.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this repurposing, very different books or book components were ultimately brought together in the same binding, today falling under the same shelfmark, 24406. These different components have encouraged the view of *V* as a composite manuscript. My first two chapters argue for an early date of the two sub-codices' composition and propose to view the whole as a 'miscellany' compiled over a particularly extended period of time in that its parts are 'brought together by choice and chance unpredictably mixed'.<sup>3</sup> Concrete evidence in the form of foliation and gathering

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<sup>2</sup> For tables presenting the original ordering in *A* and its subsequent alterations, see Friedrich Gennrich, 'Der Chansonnier d'Arras', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* XLVI (1926) pp. 325–335 at pp. 328–33, since questioned by Madeleine Tyssens, *II. Chansonniers français, I. a (B.A.V., Reg. lat. 1490), b (B.A.V., Reg. lat. 1522), A (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 657), 'Intavulare': Tables de chansonniers romans, Studi e testi* 388, Anna Ferrari, dir., (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998), pp. 119–20; for an overview of the layers of *M*, Judith Peraino, 'New Music: Notions of Genre and the "Manuscrit du Roi" circa 1300', Doctoral Thesis, University of California, Berkeley (1995), pp. 73–80 and 94–99, and for her dating and description of the various text hands, pp. 99–135.

<sup>3</sup> Derek Pearsall, 'The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters', in Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, eds., *Imagining the Book*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 18–29 at p. 29. As a whole, fr. 24406 could be described as the inverse of Pearsall's Type 2 miscellanies, the 'largely unplanned collections

signatures cut across the manuscript's physical breaks and the thematic coherence of the manuscript as a whole is greater than many other vernacular manuscripts commonly mined for possible organizing principles.<sup>4</sup> Like many other bookmakers, *V*'s compilers were at the mercy of the availability of texts (and music).<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this section is thus to demarcate *V*'s production units (*productie-eenheiden*), usage units (*gebruikseenheiden*), and usage phases (*gebruiksfasen*), demonstrating how these cut across each other and across the usual divisions of the manuscript.<sup>6</sup> Erik Kwakkel established these terms from considerations of patterns in use and reallocations of manuscripts that, in the late Middle Ages, all passed through the hands of members of a single community, the monks of the Rooklooster.<sup>7</sup> The conceptual distinction between usage and production is a useful starting point for discussing *V*, where the evidence of use cuts across a basically fascicular construction. Yet, in the absence of unambiguous evidence about the manuscript's

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with spasms of planning', *ibid.*, p. 25. An example of a volume of vernacular French repertoire roughly contemporaneous with *V* is the La Clayette manuscript now thought to have 'undergone a period of active growth over at least 30 years' at the end of the 13th century, during which time it was 'collected fascicle by fascicle, as texts became available to or were sought out by whoever was building it', Sean Curran, 'Writing, Performance, and Devotion in the Thirteenth-Century Motet: The La Clayette Manuscript', in Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 193–220 at pp. 203, 204.

<sup>4</sup> See Ralph Hanna III, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), especially at pp. 9, 24–7, Jason O'Rourke, 'Imagining Book Production in Fourteenth-Century Herefordshire: The Scribe of British Library, MS Harley 2253 and his "Organizing Principles"', in *ibid.*, pp. 45–60 and Alison Wiggins, 'Imagining the Compiler: *Guy of Warwick* and the Compilation of the Auchinleck Manuscript', in *ibid.*, pp. 61–73.

<sup>5</sup> Of course the vicissitudes of transmission could also work to the compiler's benefit: '...a medieval book producer might always reasonably expect to find more interesting texts to transmit than simply the one initially sought. Limitation of supply...also produces that inherently miscellaneous, often catch-as-catch-can, appearance that typifies late-medieval books in English.' Hanna, *Pursuing History*, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Erik Kwakkel, 'Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002), pp. 12–19; *idem*, *Die Dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren: De kartuizers van Herne en de productie van Middelnederlandse handschriften in de regio Brussel* (Leuven: Peters, 2002), pp. 4–5; see also Ralph Hanna's subdivision of booklets by considering them from the perspective 'of the vendor or owner of the books and that of the producer' in his 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations', *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), pp. 100–111, at p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4–7 for an explanation of the origin of the terms, pp. 195–6 for a presentation of their schematic use in manuscript description. A particularly intricate example of the terms' implementation is Kwakkel's description of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MSs 3067–73, *ibid.*, pp. 227–8.

users, the boundaries between construction and reception become blurred. Production, for my purposes, refers to any physical alteration of the manuscript, including additions made by readers and re-orderings and re-bindings made centuries after the gatherings had first been assembled. Usage then nearly becomes a sub-section of production, relying on the evidence of pages turned so frequently as to retain marks from it (a physical alteration more destructive than constructive), and annotations made by readers (though there is no obvious difference between the marks of proof-readers and early owners). Closing in on the physical divisions in the manuscript reveals complexity of a fractal nature where each sub-unit of the whole contains further complications and further divisions.

Just as production and reception remain inextricable, the history of the manuscript's usage must also be coterminus with a review of the secondary literature. John Haines demonstrated this principle in his *Eight Centuries of Trouvères and Troubadours*.<sup>8</sup> His reception history encompasses medieval scribes, enlightenment bibliophiles, and modern performance and scholarship. Although Kwakkel explicitly defines the term 'usage unit' as referring to an abstract concept ('een abstract begrip'), not entirely dependant on physical form, in practice, he still relies on physical evidence.<sup>9</sup> When taken to its conclusion, the term could point us in an intriguing novel direction, at least where the chansonniers are concerned. The very fact that trouvère sigla such as *A*, *S*, or *V* are given to parts of codices rather than whole manuscripts could be interpreted as evidence that, with the 19<sup>th</sup>-century philologists who took an interest in these pieces, a new usage phase began. We might even

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<sup>8</sup> John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), see especially Chapters 3 'Enlightened Readers', pp. 89–154; 4 'The Science of Translation', pp. 155–204, and 5 'Recent Readings', pp. 205–60.

<sup>9</sup> Kwakkel, *Die Dietsche boeke*, p. 6.

conceive of Alfred Jeanroy's extraction and reordering of the songs of *A* in his photographic reproduction as its own production phase.<sup>10</sup>

The issues that arise when reconstructing the booklets, fascicles, or pecia that make up a manuscript are familiar from Ralph Hanna's work on Middle English Manuscripts and that of Richard and Mary Rouse on book production in Paris; they figure only tangentially in research on French lyric.<sup>11</sup> We will see that the addition of music brings further complexity, but also further evidence. The same production unit, where text and layout is concerned, may reflect the work of different musical notators and different musical sources. The multiple re-orderings of the book wrought havoc

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<sup>10</sup> Alfred Jeanroy, ed., *Le Chansonnier d'Arras: Reproduction en Phototypie* (Paris: Champion, 1925); Jeanroy also arranged for the reordering of the original manuscript with what were then fols. 129–152 shifted to follow what was labeled as fol. 160. The reproduction includes only the 31 folios containing songs.

<sup>11</sup> Hanna, *Pursuing History*, pp. 21–35 and 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts', *passim*; Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol. I, pp. 85–9. The Manuscrit du Roi (*TrouvM*) and *TrouvI* (GB-Ob Douce 308) have received the most attention in regard to fascicular construction. For discussions of *M*, see Peraino, 'Notions of Genre', *passim*, and *idem*, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 127–85; Alison Stones, 'Some Northern French Chansonniers and their Cultural Context', pp. 169–87 in Barbara Haggh and Frédéric Billiet, eds., *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie*, Musiques écrites 15 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2011), at pp. 173–8; Haines, 'The Transformations of the Manuscrit du Roi', *Musica disciplina* 52 (1998–2000), pp. 181–220 and *idem*, 'The Musicography of the "Manuscrit du Roi,"' Doctoral Dissertation, University of Toronto (1998), *passim*; Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York, NY, and London: Garland, 1989), pp. 171–87 and 226–9 especially pp. 181–5; Lawrence Earp, 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut', Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton University (1981), pp. 240–44. For *I* see Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., trans., and introd., with music editions and commentary by Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308*, Publications romanes et françaises CCXXXIX (Geneva: Droz, 2006), pp. XLV–LIV; Mary Atchison, *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 57–88 in which Atchinson demonstrates the manuscript, long thought to be composite, is a planned collection; and Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'A Courtly Compilation: the Douce Chansonnier', in Leach and Deeming, eds., *Medieval Song*, pp. 221–46, *passim* and especially at p. 226. See also Helen Deeming's work on chansonnier *F* in her 'Words and Music in a Thirteenth-Century Songbook', in Haggh and Billiet, dirs., *Patrimoine musical*, pp. 189–205 at pp. 190–93 and *idem*, 'Preserving and Recycling: Functional Multiplicity and Shifting Priorities in the Compilation and Continued Use of London, British Library, Egerton 274', in Deeming and Leach, eds., *Medieval Song*, pp. 141–62 and finally Maria Carla Battelli's consideration of 'materially isolated' author anthologies, especially of Thibaut de Champagne's and Adam de la Halle's chansons in her 'Le antologie poetiche in antico-francese', *Critica del Testo, rivista quadrimestrale* 2 (1999), pp. 141–80, at pp. 165–79, pp. 178–9 for Thibaut in, *inter alia*, chansonniers *M* and *V*.

with the internal structure of texts. The evidence offered in this section does not yet permit clear answers to what the ‘original’ ordering was, or even how the manuscript was arranged at any given time before it arrived at the Bibliothèque nationale. At most, the codex can be divided into stages of fashioning, thus establishing where comparison between notators is reasonable. Whether a literary reading of the entire manuscript is warranted must be left to historians of texts and book production to decide.



## *V/V<sup>1</sup>* and *V<sup>2</sup>*: Two Chansonniers or One?

TO EXAMINE FR. 24406 IS TO SEE two manuscripts in one binding. The first, a song collection featuring coloured initials and gilded lettrines, extends to fol. 119, where it ends with an Explicit. The second, an undecorated miscellany comprising the prose *Traitié de quatre nécessaires*, the prose *Bestiaire d'amour* of Richard de Fournival and about 30 *chansons pieuses* (including one in Occitan), begins with a new gathering structure on fol. 120 and extends to fol. 155. Nearly every reference to the volume since Julius Brakelmann has remarked on this bifurcation.<sup>12</sup> The fact that the miscellany concludes with a second, smaller song collection confuses matters, as the trouvère siglum *V* is used interchangeably by the same author to designate either the first or both collections (Schwan, Gennrich, Spanke, Linker, McAlpine, Tischler, and O'Neill all adopt this multivalent function of the siglum in their bibliographies and studies).<sup>13</sup> Some, notably Eduard Schwan and Fiona McAlpine have denoted the second song collection as *V<sup>2</sup>* or *V'*, indicating the fact that these later songs are all

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<sup>12</sup> Julius Brakelmann, 'Die dreiundzwanzig altfranzösischen Chansonniers: in Bibliotheken Frankreichs, Englands, Italiens und der Schweiz', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* XXIII/42 (1868), pp. 43–72 at p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> Eduard Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften: ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung: eine Litterarhistorische Untersuchung* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886), pp. 108–12; Friedrich Gennrich, 'Die bieten neuesten Bibliographien altfranzösischer und altprovenzalischer Lieder', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 41 (1921), pp. 289–346, at p. 305; Hans Spanke, 'Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Liedes', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 156 (1929), pp. 66–79, at pp. 69–70; Robert White Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics* Romance Monographs no. 31 (University, MS: Romance Monographs, 1979), pp. 32–3; Fiona McAlpine, 'Un chansonnier médiéval: Édition et étude du ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 24406', Doctoral dissertation, 3<sup>e</sup> cycle, Paris IV (1974), *passim*; Mary J. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* Oxford Monographs on Music 32 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); on pp. 14, 25, 27 *V* refers to the codex as a whole, on pp. 30, 44–5, 49, 95–98, *V* implicitly refers only to the secular collection. Tischler makes no distinction between the two parts of the manuscript in his, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 107 (Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 150–51.

*geistliche* or *religieuses* in nature. For the sake of convenience, I prefer to denote fols. 1–119 by the siglum *V*<sup>1</sup> and the entire miscellany from fol. 120 to the end by *V*<sup>2</sup>, which thus incorporates the two prose works as well as the religious songs that begin on fol. 149. Throughout Part I of this thesis, I use the unnumbered siglum *V* to refer only to the entire manuscript.

What does it mean to claim that *V* is a composite manuscript? If it implies only that there is a codicological divide somewhere in the book, that it is composed of multiple production units, this is a trivial statement. If we conclude anything about the intentions of the compilers, or the manuscript's purpose, we have already ventured beyond what can be answered through collation and examination of gathering signatures. Most of the evidence for the first bindings has either been completely destroyed (as for certain pages in *V*<sup>2</sup>, which had clearly fallen away from their gatherings at the time of the 1971 restoration), or else is hidden thanks to the impracticality of disassembling the manuscript to search for sewing holes. The identifying features of the coats of arms on fol. 1r offer information about *V*'s earliest owners.<sup>14</sup> The painted arms are significantly damaged and the types of figures and colours they display are ubiquitous in heraldry to a degree that renders matching their contents to a description of a family crest a matter of near guesswork. They point us in the direction of noble families in Artois, but offer no definite information about the origin and purpose of the collection. It is probably impossible to answer the question: were the two sections conceived as self-contained units to be sold as-is, as Elizabeth Aubrey implies in her description in the *New Grove*, or were they produced

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<sup>14</sup> The coats of arms show every sign of being inserted at the time of decoration, as the colouring matches perfectly and plenty of space is allocated for them between the miniature and the first decorated initial. Compare the tight fit between miniature and initial at the beginning of chansonniers *K* (F-Pa 5198), p. 1 and *N* (F-Pn fr. 845), fol. 1r.

separately, but with more flexible intentions, allowing for expansion?<sup>15</sup> In the first case, who bound them together and when? In the second case, why was *V'* joined to such a scruffy miscellany instead of a manuscript of an equivalent grade? The search for speculative answers extends beyond the scope of this first chapter, and will bring us, in Chapter 2, into the realm of provenance and early ownership. The summaries in this chapter, of previous manuscript descriptions, of the evidence for viewing the two codices separately, and of the evidence for an early unification of the two, can demonstrate only that the manuscript offers evidence inadequate to the task of resolving the issues of compilation. They can show us where the sutures are, but not explain the reasons for them.

## 1. Past Positions

### 1.1 Manuscript Descriptions before McAlpine

Even before its sale to the Bibliothèque nationale in 1783, the manuscript was recognized as a piece to be prized. The earliest descriptive catalogue from a library containing *V* is that of the contents of the Urfé library at La Bastie in la Forêt.<sup>16</sup> The catalogue has never been considered in connection with *V*: it offers some corroborating evidence for dating the reordering and for the interest the manuscript held for the family d'Urfé, to be considered in Chapter 2.

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<sup>15</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Section III, 4: Secular Monophony: French', in Stanley Boorman, ed., 'Sources, MS', in Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 23, pp. 846–68 at pp. 857–8.

<sup>16</sup> Amsterdam, Remonstrantsche Kerk, III, C.21<sup>1</sup>.

In or before 1777, the manuscript passed from the possession of the Urfé to that of the Duc de la Vallière: the collection was sold piecemeal from 1773 and the majority of the Urfé library was sold directly to the Duke in 1777. At this point, the book received a much more detailed examination.<sup>17</sup> This was at the hands of the Duke's eldest son, Guillaume de Bure, on the occasion of selling his father's entire collection to the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>18</sup> The description of *V* no doubt aimed to emphasize the codex's most attractive features. Nevertheless, it provides a solid starting point for establishing what has long been known of *V*, primarily information about the contents. The description of the physical object is surprisingly detailed in comparison to later cursory descriptions:

Recueil de Chansons. in fol. m[aroquin] r[ouge]  
Manuscrit sur vélin du *XIII* siècle, très précieux, & d'une conservation parfaite. Il est écrit en *lettres de forme*, sur 2 collones, & enrichi de lettres *tourneures* peintes en or & en couleurs. Il contient 155 feuillets.<sup>19</sup> [Emphasis original]

A complete list of contents, including song incipits, a list of known songs of Thibaut de Champagne missing from *V*, and a commentary on attribution follows. De Bure also notes the inconsistency between four- and five-line staves (p. 194), and the different text hand from fol. 120.<sup>20</sup> Even at this early stage of manuscript description, then, librarians recognized a new scribe at fol. 120, a detail inessential to de Bure's promotion of the manuscript's costly decoration and priceless contents (it is telling

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<sup>17</sup> 'Elle [NB: the last Marquise d'Urfé] fera transporter à Paris, pour la mettre en vente, la célèbre collection de La Bastie... Le duc de la Vallière achètera en bloc ce qui restait des livres et des manuscrits.' André Vernet, 'Les manuscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501–1558) au château de la Bastie', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 120 (1976), pp. 81–97 at p. 84.

<sup>18</sup> Guillaume de Bure, fils aîné, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de La Vallière. Première partie contenant les manuscrits, les premières éditions, les livres imprimés sur vélin et sur grand papier, les livres rares et précieux par leur belle conservation, les livres d'estampes, etc. dont la vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois de décembre 1783*, 3 volumes (Paris: de Bure, 1783); *V* is number 2719, in vol. 2, pp. 193–7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>20</sup> '...[c]e traité est en prose, et d'une écriture différente de celle qui précède, quoiqu'elle soit aussi du *XIII* siècle', *ibid.*, p. 197.

that de Bure neglects to mention that the gold and coloured initials are unique to fols. 1–119).

Scholarly understanding of the manuscript expanded through the 19th century and early 20th century independently in France and Germany. The first to describe *V* in the context of a bibliography of chansonniers was Julius Brakelmann; the story of his contribution is that of an early breakthrough immediately forgotten. His ‘Dreiundzwanzig altfranzösischen Chansonniers’ established a bibliographical format imitated by a number of trouvère scholars well into the 20th century.<sup>21</sup> This work, unfortunately, is often overlooked by those studying *V*, as it predates the establishment of any sigla system for trouvère chansonniers and refers to the manuscript by its old shelfmark, MS 59 of the fond La Vallière. Brakelmann, whose specific interest was chansonnier *C*, paid most attention to *V*<sup>2</sup>’s religious songs, noting their marked similarity in content and ordering to those in *C*.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps it was this unprecedented attention to *V*<sup>2</sup> that led Brakelmann to notice the roman numerals giving a foliation that starts at the current fol. 120. However, Brakelmann gives credit to Paul Meyer for the realisation: he cites a notice on the manuscript where Meyer had apparently considered the possibility of a previous ordering, with the religious chansons originally preceding the secular ones.<sup>23</sup> The original notice by Meyer similarly remains a mystery. The 28-year-old Meyer had published relatively little by 1868 (it would be another four years before he founded *Romania*), and none of his catalogued essays, commentaries, or prefaces are relevant to chansonnier *V*. It would be no surprise to find a notice on fr. 24406 within Meyer’s ‘collection de fiches,

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<sup>21</sup> Brakelmann, ‘Chansonniers’. See also Gennrich’s rather partisan discussion of the various bibliographies of trouvère chansonniers in Gennrich, ‘Neuesten Bibliographien’.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Diese Lider [*sic*] sollen an den Anfang gehören, wie Paul Meyer aus den halbverwischten römischen Ziffern an den Seitenrändern, die vorn weiter gehen, mit Grund vermuthet [*sic*]. Man vergleiche weiter unten die Notiz über Lavallière 59.’ *Ibid.*, note p. 46.

prises au hasard de ses lectures et destinées uniquement à son usage personnel’ only partially transcribed by Arthur Långfors.<sup>24</sup> It might also be that a description was then kept with the manuscript and subsequently lost.

It is also unclear from the published article how much further Brakelmann intended to carry this line of questioning, as the description of *V*’s contents several pages later trails off abruptly. A conjugated verb, at the very least, is missing:

Fol. 148—155r 30 grösstentheils geistliche Lieder mit Notenlinien, aber ohne Noten, auch sind die Stellen der Initialen leer geblieben, wie in dem vorangehenden, von derselben Hand geschriebenen Fragment des bestiaire; — ein Grund, gegen Paul Meyer zu vermuthen, dass die 30 Lieder an ihrer richtigen Stelle[...].<sup>25</sup>

The paragraph can only be completed by conjecture.<sup>26</sup>

Neither Meyer’s lost note nor Brakelmann’s ellipsis have been mentioned since. We might excuse subsequent scholars for failing to realize Brakelmann mentions *V* at all, due to the outdated reference number and the fact that it is grouped with chansonniers *C*, *U*, and *I*, not with the *KNPX* group as most have come to expect. It is no surprise particularly to find French philologists ignoring or ignorant of a

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<sup>24</sup> Arthur Långfors, *Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Répertoire bibliographique établi à l’aide de notes de M. Paul Meyer* (Paris: Champion, [1917]), p. V. The bibliography of Meyer’s works compiled by the BnF and posted on gallica does not list any notice by Meyer on chansonnier *V* or on any collection of manuscripts to which it belonged. Brakelmann could not have been referring to Meyer’s annotations in the first volume of Léopold Delisle’s and Jules-Antoine Taschereau’s *Catalogue de manuscrits français: ancien fonds*, 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didots frères, fils, 1868, 1874, 1881, 1902), as in that case Meyer was only one among several of the ‘jeunes archivistes paléographes’ (p. VIII) assisting M. Michelant. Furthermore, Brakelmann could only have seen the first volume, limited to descriptions of the first 3130 manuscripts of the *fonds français*. Even vol. 5 only reaches only as far as fr. 6170. I have so far located no separate catalogue of the La Vallière collection from this era, by Meyer or otherwise. It is clear from Meyer’s brief comparison of the chansonniers *O* and *V* to *I* in his ‘Troisième rapport sur une mission littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse’, *Archives des missions scientifiques* II.5 (1868), pp. 139–272 at p. 160, that he believed *V*, like the others, was assembled by a single scribe who had ‘sous les yeux deux ou trois chansonniers’, some resembling *K* and *N*, others (presumably those in *V*<sup>2</sup>) resembling *C*.

<sup>25</sup> Brakelmann, ‘Chansonniers’, p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> As of the last decade of the nineteenth century, a number of notes and sketches Brakelmann had been working on were thought to be lost. Émile Bouillon, ‘Avertissement’, in Jules Brakelmann, *Les Plus anciens chansonniers français (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) publiés d’après tous les manuscrits par Jules Brakelmann*, Émile Bouillon, ed., (Paris: Bouillon, imp. Durand, 1870–91), p. I: ‘Ni la suite du manuscrit préparé par lui, ni ses notes, ni les épreuves des feuilles suivantes ne se sont retrouvées.’

German author, a tendency that eventually led to one of the most famous episodes in vernacular song scholarship.<sup>27</sup>

What French scholars did reference was Brakelmann's posthumous edition of chansons, left in fragmentary manuscript form and finally published some twenty years later. Brakelmann was killed at the age of 26 in the battle of Mars-la-Tour fighting in the German army; yet in 1896 he was lauded in Paris in the preface to his own posthumous publication under the name 'Jules Brakelmann'.<sup>28</sup> The printed edition bears only one direct reference to the two parts of *V* (which Brakelmann confusingly gives the siglum *C*):

L'ordre alphabétique adopté par le scribe de M nous a empêché de décomposer ce chansonnier en plusieurs sections comme nous avons pu le faire pour les mss. C, J et R qui ont été composés à l'aide de deux ou trois recueils appartenant à des groupes différents.

This is difficult to parse: is Brakelmann (or rather his editor and translator) referring to a purely stemmatological claim, that different texts in *V* display different family affinities? Or is he referring to the two separate physical collections that are our concern here? This latter case is likely, as Brakelmann consistently provides a superscript numeral one whenever he locates a chanson within *V* (citations to '*C*<sup>2</sup>' never appear, as the religious pieces in *V* are all anonymous; pieces copied in the hand of Scribe B and Notator 2 are still ascribed to *C*<sup>l</sup>, as pieces XI and XVI of the Châtelain de Coucy and I of Blondel de Nesle attest).<sup>29</sup> Even the same piece copied twice, fols. 106r and 115r, is still considered to be in *C*<sup>l</sup> both times, a refreshing

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<sup>27</sup> This was the convoluted plagiarism scandal between Pierre Aubry and Johann (later Jean) Beck in the 1910s; John Haines, 'The Footnote Quarrels of Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), pp. 87–120.

<sup>28</sup> Brakelmann's scholarship and personal history had already been published by his German colleague, Gustav Legerlotz, *Dr. Julius Brakelmann: ein biographischer Versuch*, 2 vols. (Soest, 1871–2).

<sup>29</sup> Brakelmann., *Les plus anciens*, pp. 123, 130, and 140.

contrast to Tischler's habit of referring to 'V(1)' and 'V(2)' whenever the same piece appears twice in *V*<sup>I</sup>.<sup>30</sup>

It is perhaps telling that the first French scholarly catalogue of trouvère chansonniers bore only passing reference to Brakelmann, primarily in the form of a table of sigla. This was the work of the French scholar Gaston Raynaud, whose entry on *V*, though shorter, has been much more frequently referenced.<sup>31</sup> His contribution was key: his bibliography supplies the earliest siglum for *V* ('P<sup>14</sup>') and provides a complete table of incipits for the songs in the manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> Like Meyer and Brakelmann, he recognizes that it is 'composé de deux parties' and dates these two halves: 'l'une du milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle renferme des Chansons, Jeux-Partis, etc....l'autre de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, après plusieurs morceaux littéraires, des Chansons à la Vierge (fol. 148–155).'<sup>33</sup> Raynaud also identifies 'les armes de la famille d'Urfé, à qui ce ms. a appartenu' and mentions the miniature, 'lettres ornées', and the 'diverses paginations', of which he chooses 'la plus moderne' to indicate the location of songs in his catalogue.<sup>34</sup> More useful than the description is Raynaud's complete table of contents for the songs in *V*.<sup>35</sup> He includes the Marian chansons from

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<sup>30</sup> This is piece 4 of Blondel de Nesle, *ibid.*, p. 146. See also *ibid.*, pp. 6, 11, 13, 46, 75, 101, 103, 105, 109, 114, 116, 118, 121, 123, 130–31, 133, 140, 142, 146, 148–9, 153, 161, 163, 165, 167 'leçon très corrompue', 173, 174, 178, 182, 185, 188.

<sup>31</sup> It is worth noting that Raynaud's bibliography even cites August Scheler's sigla, despite the complete lack of manuscript description; even this minor attention to Scheler is disproportionate, given Brakelmann's detail. August Scheler, *Trouvères Belges du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: chansons d'amour, jeux-partis, pastourelles, dits et fabliaux par Quenes de Béthune, Henri III, duc de Brabant, Gillebert de Berneville, Mathieu de Gand, Jacques de Baisieux, Gauthier le Long, etc.* (Bruxelles: Comptoir Universel d'Imprimerie et de Librairie Mathieu Closson et Cie, 1876). By this system, *V*<sup>I</sup> is referenced by the siglum *I*.

<sup>32</sup> Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XXXIII<sup>e</sup> et XXXIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Viewig, 1884).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186–7.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187–198.



*V*<sup>2</sup> with only the bracketed subtitle '[Chançons de Nostre Dame]' to segregate them from the main collection.<sup>36</sup>

Eduard Schwan in his comparison of old French song manuscripts had little interest in describing *V* as an object, composite or otherwise: his concern was with variants and compilation. His contribution to the stemmatic study of trouvère chansonniers deserves attention in a separate chapter, as it formed the fundamental philological groundwork for all subsequent assessments of *V*'s contents for the greater part of a century.<sup>37</sup> More relevant here is the strong precedent he set for considering *V* as a composite manuscript. His statement is matter-of-fact and became the received wisdom of German-influenced scholarship.<sup>38</sup> Schwan confidently identified *V*<sup>1</sup> and *V*<sup>2</sup> as 'zwei verschiedenen Mss., die nur durch den Buchbinder vereinigt worden sind'.<sup>39</sup> Even Brakelmann, who had noted the reordering of *V*<sup>1</sup> and *V*<sup>2</sup>, left open the possibility that they were both intrinsic to the same whole; the case was now closed.

Schwan's influence in general cannot be overstated: it was he who provided the now-standard sigla for trouvère chansonniers and the manuscript is denoted as *V* for the first time in his work.<sup>40</sup> He furthermore introduced the convention of labelling the song collection of the second codex *Vg* ('Eine Sammlung geistlicher Lieder') and suggested definite chronological conclusions about its context, negating the musical worth of a belatedly-added collection 'in denen eine spätere Hand die Notation eingetragen hat'.<sup>41</sup> Schwan might have been able to strengthen his claims thanks to

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>37</sup> Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, pp. 108–110.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108–109.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>40</sup> Schwan took Raynaud's sigla as his point of departure, but assigned each manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale a separate letter rather than the rather cumbersome superscript figures Raynaud adds. A key relating the two systems appears in *ibid.*, pp. 2–4.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

his collation of *V*<sup>1</sup>, ‘15 Lagen (zu 8 folios)’, however he does not provide a collation of *V*<sup>2</sup> for comparison. He simply states the segregation of the two codices as fact and proceeds to give the contents of *V*<sup>1</sup>, though only by reference to the contents already established for *KNPX*.<sup>42</sup> Surprisingly, Schwan does not mention either Meyer’s or Brakelmann’s note on the changed ordering of *V*. The precedent thus set provided an excuse for those writing on trouvère chansonniers to ignore *V*<sup>2</sup>, while scholars of religious songs could safely avoid any serious consideration of *V*<sup>1</sup>. The last contribution worth mentioning here is Schwan’s acknowledgement of an important inscription on fol. 119: ‘Auf dem leergebliebenen Raum von Fol. 119 ist später ein Hochzeitscontract aus dem Jahr 1427 eingetragen worden.’<sup>43</sup> Of the decorations, Schwan takes particular note of the miniature ‘welche von den in NKXP befindlichen sich nur wenig unterscheidet’, thus bolstering his stemmatic claim that *V* belonged in the same manuscript family as the group of four.

Francophone catalogue descriptions, after the lost notice of Meyer, proved sluggish in keeping up with German scholarship. Almost twenty years after Schwan’s publication, Henri Omont, with the collaboration of Camille Couderc and Charles de la Roncière produced a catalogue of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale including a description of *V* hardly different from that of Guillaume de Bure.<sup>44</sup> As before, the contents of the manuscript are supplied in full, however the physical description itself is confined to a brief note.<sup>45</sup> The contents are listed (along with their different scribes) as if they are simply included in a rather large miscellany: there is

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109–14 and 117–19 for *V*, 87–105 for *KNPX*.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> Henri Omont, Camille Couderc and Charles de La Roncière, eds., *Bibliothèque nationale: Catalogue générale des manuscrits français par Henri Omont avec la collaboration de C. Couderc, L. Auvray et Ch. de La Roncière: Anciens petits fonds français. II: N<sup>os</sup> 22885-25696 du fonds français* (Paris: Leroux, 1902) pp. 345–6, no. 24406.

<sup>45</sup> Parchemin. I et 155 feuillets, à 2 col. 285 sur 195 millimètres. Rel. maroquin rouge. (La Vallière 59), *ibid.*, p. 345.

no consideration of *V* as a potentially composite codex. Like de Bure's, this entry notes the difference between the hands of *V*<sup>1</sup> and *V*<sup>2</sup>.<sup>46</sup> Omont also takes the marriage note into account, notes the arms of Claude d'Urfé on the verso of the parchment insert labeled 'A' and also gives a detailed description of the coats of arms on fol. 1r.<sup>47</sup>

When scholars examine *V* primarily for the sake of the chansonnier that comprises *V*<sup>1</sup>, the question of whether *V*<sup>2</sup> should be considered a separate section or a separate manuscript is often ignored. With descriptions whose focus was *V*<sup>2</sup>, by contrast, the question takes on more urgency. When considering the *chansons pieuses* in *V*, for example, the stakes are very high when it comes to establishing whether or not the 300 odd songs of *V*<sup>1</sup> ought to be considered in relation to the two dozen religious pieces of *V*<sup>2</sup>. Thus, when in 1910 Edward Järnström included a much fuller analysis of *V*<sup>2</sup> than previously undertaken by French or German scholars, it is a surprise to see him parroting Raynaud in the statement, 'on sait que le ms. V se compose de deux parties distinctes'.<sup>48</sup> Like Raynaud, he dates the first to 'le milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle' while claiming the other 'date de la fin du même siècle'. Furthermore, he devotes attention (albeit briefly) to the prose sections of *V*<sup>2</sup> while ignoring *V*<sup>1</sup> entirely. He even includes a dialectical analysis of the scribe of *V*<sup>2</sup> based alike on the chansons and on the prose works, effectively proclaiming the collection linguistically

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<sup>46</sup> 'Le premier recueil [de chansons] est d'une main ne que celui-ci; dans les deux, presque toutes les chansons sont accompagnées de leur musique.' *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>47</sup> The description of the arms on fol. 1r is of interest as it is the first: '1° De gueules, à la croix d'or, au franc-quartier d'hermines 2° D'or, à la croix de sable, au lambel de gueules à trois pendants brochant sur le tout.' *Ibid.*, p. 346. The description matches the current appearance of the arms with the exception of the franc-quartier. The quarters now have a bluish tinge and the bleed into the crosses themselves suggests that the original colour and whatever contents it may have had has been covered over. The arms and their owners will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>48</sup> Edward Järnström, ed., *Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, publiées par Edward Järnström*, vol. 1 Tomituksia, *Annales academicae scientiarum fennicae*, series B vol. III (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Kustantama, 1910), p. 6.

segregated from  $V^1$ .<sup>49</sup> This was the most consideration  $V^2$  would receive for quite some time.

French scholarship during the First World War proved even more intent on ignoring and even contradicting Schwan's position on the relationship between the segments making up  $V$ . Copious reference to Schwan in other contexts suggest the tacit critique was specific to this point. In 1918, Alfred Jeanroy even refrained from repeating Raynaud's softer 'deux parties', so far the only expression in French of the codicological segregation between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$ . Jeanroy's note on  $V$  (labelled concurrently as  $V$  and as  $Pb^{14}$ , after Raynaud) is not exceptionally brief compared to his other summary descriptions of the song collections; in this case, he did indeed have 'beaucoup à ajouter' to Raynaud's description, when one considers word-count alone.<sup>50</sup> Still, his language studiously avoids even Raynaud's cautious postulation of two parts: 'les pièces lyriques occupent le début et la fin de ce ms., dont le milieu (fols. 120–148) est rempli par deux ouvrages en prose'.<sup>51</sup> Jeanroy's *Avertissement* could even be read as a general excuse for his heavy reliance on Raynaud: 'Le présent travail a pour objet de suppléer, dans une certaine mesure, à une réédition que rendraient difficile les circonstances actuelles'.<sup>52</sup> Current circumstances in Paris on 31 May 1917 were indeed difficult. Like Omont, Jeanroy offers a relative dating of the second part ( $V^2$ ) as later than the first, without localizing both to the 13<sup>th</sup> century as Raynaud had. The persistence of Raynaud's hesitant language, far from suggesting that the French scholars were in any way less proficient codicologists than their

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<sup>49</sup> 'Elle montre, en général, les traits caractéristiques de la langue littéraire du Centre. Cependant, les graphies come *soloil...poine...*etc. et la terminaison *-aige* alternant avec *-age...*indiquent quelques rapprochements avec les dialectes de l'Est.' *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>50</sup> Alfred Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen age* (Paris: H. Champion, 1918), p. v.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

German counterparts, merely shows lack of attention to *V*. In more expansive manuscript descriptions, Jeanroy did not hesitate to announce definitive codicological breaks. In the case of the composite chansonnier *A*, the *Bibliographie sommaire* offers not so much as a scribal comparison, while in his photographic reproduction of the chansonnier seven years later, Jeanroy is confident.<sup>53</sup> Jeanroy is playing a delicate game of contradicting Schwan without challenging the late Raynaud. It is possible Jeanroy simply found Schwan's assessment of *V* unconvincing: his patriotism did not extend to leaving Schwan unreferenced in his bibliography (he includes his sigla) except in certain cases, including that of *V*.<sup>54</sup> It was clear, too, that he had read Schwan's work on *V*, as he referenced it fully almost two decades earlier.<sup>55</sup> In *A*'s case, the codicological separation is strengthened by lacunae and reorderings within the individual collections. *V* is a tricky codex to deal with, and it attests to the positivist attitude of Schwan that he was so confident in divining the intentions of the compilers; Jeanroy's slight was not nationalistic, but circumspect.

Several decades later, *V*<sup>2</sup> again came under scrutiny, this time in the work of an Italian. This was Cesare Segre, whose edition of the *Bestiaire d'amour* by Richard de Fournival, the second prose piece in *V*<sup>2</sup> came to establish the accepted stemma for that work.<sup>56</sup> In this context, Segre announces that the two parts of *V* (under the siglum

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<sup>53</sup> '...il se compose en réalité de trois manuscrits sans aucun rapport entre eux et qui ont été arbitrairement réunis à cause de l'identité du format et de la ressemblance des écritures', Jeanroy, *Le Chansonnier d'Arras: reproduction en phototypie: Introduction par Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925), p. 5; *idem*, *Bibliographie*, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> For *TrouvU* (F-Pn fr. 20050), for example, Jeanroy includes both Raynaud and Schwan in his bibliography of descriptions, *ibid.*, p. 11. On the sigla, see p. vii, 'À l'exemple de presque tous les récents éditeurs, j'ai adopté, comme plus simples, les sigles de Schwan...'

<sup>55</sup> '[C]'est là une démonstration excellemment faite par Schwan (p. 108–117) et qu'il est inutile de recommencer.' Jeanroy, 'Les Chansons de Philippe de Beaumanoir', *Romania: Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romane* XXVI (1897), p. 518.

<sup>56</sup> Cesare Segre, ed. *Li Bestiaires d'amours di Maistre Richard de Fournival e li response du Bestiaire*, Documenti di Filologia 2 (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1957), pp. xlv–xlv. The later bilingual edition by Bianciotto adheres to Segre's basic division into two stemmatic families and sigla, thus considers *V*<sup>2</sup> only as a source for contamination, as Segre relegates it (under the siglum *F*) to the *x*-

‘F’ for the bestiary) ‘sono due codici riuniti’. Segre also makes his reasons for distinguishing two manuscripts abundantly clear: in addition to identifying *V*<sup>2</sup>’s text hand as 14<sup>th</sup>-century (in contrast to the ‘13<sup>th</sup>-century script’ of *V*<sup>1</sup>), he calls it ‘grossolana e irregolare’ and suggests that the music was ‘aggiunta in un secondo tempo’. In general, the number of details examined in *V*<sup>2</sup> has broadened considerably compared to the work of Schwan and Raynaud. Segre takes note of the large ink initials that decorate the first few folios of *V*<sup>2</sup> and of the fact that they stop abruptly.<sup>57</sup> He also indicates the ‘nota del possessore Raoulet berthelot [*sic*]’, a record of the engagement and marriage of Raoulet Berthelot and Perrine de Fougerays, to be discussed in greater detail below, and ‘lo stemma dei D’Urfé’ on the verso of fol. A. Segre even notes the faint pen trials (which calls ‘varie scritte, in disordine, raschiate’) that haunt fol. 140 and transcribes them as follows:

« tu folie fez non pas » « tu folie fez » « tu folie fez *non* pas a escient tu nen doiz pas blasmer ta conscience *pource* se el...nela tamentut. Cd G fis » nell’altra colonna: « Dieus », « Dune youce d... ».

He also notes that an excerpt from fol. 134r taken from the *Traitié des quatre nécessaires* reappears in another hand on fol. 140v.<sup>58</sup> No other scholar before or since has taken stock of all these details, and there has yet to be any attempt to explain why such a particular diversity of scribal hands imposed fragmentary inscriptions on fol. 140 (as, indeed, others did on fol. 119v). Segre’s reference to the ‘vecchie segnature: La Vallière 59; ancien petit fonds 2719’ and to the description of the *La Vallière* catalogue shows he was aware of the manuscript’s provenance as far back as the late-18th century (a history some later scholars have overlooked).

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family, a group of ‘mss remaniés ou contaminés’. Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d’Amour et la Response du bestiaire*, Série “Moyen Âge” Éditions bilingue, Gabriel Bianciotto, ed. and trans. (Paris: Champion Classiques, 2009), pp. 98 and 102.

<sup>57</sup> Segre, *Bestiaires*, p. xlv.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Sul f. 140b è pure trascritto un lungo brano del *Traité*, corrispondente, in questo ms., all’inizio del f. 134a, fino a « seurbat souuent ».’ Segre, *Bestiaires*, p. cv.

Segre's contextualization of *V*<sup>2</sup> among other manuscripts of the *Bestiaire d'amour* offers a piece of information that may be the most revealing discussed so far: that is the intimate connection between the text as presented in *V*<sup>2</sup> and as it appears in F-Pn fr. 15213 (Bestiary siglum G by Segre's lettering). In Segre's estimation, the two manuscripts are 'codici gemelli, nonostante le differenze paleografiche' indicating that their textual variants are nearly identical.<sup>59</sup> They are certainly far removed where overall appearance, decoration, and *mise en page* are concerned, let alone palaeography. MS fr. 15213 dates from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is carefully copied and ornately decorated. Its illustrator has even been identified as Richard de Montbaston, a sometime collaborator with the Fauvel master.<sup>60</sup> This manuscript both in time and in place, is a further contrast from *V*<sup>2</sup> and even surpasses the most luxurious of the trouvère chansonniers, none of which enjoy such high quality illumination. It is hard to believe that Plates 1.1 and 1.2 contain roughly the same page of text, as presented in these two 'twin' manuscripts. The similarities between the two texts are then well worth reconsidering; if Segre's assessment holds, the possible origin of *V*<sup>2</sup> would be narrowed to a certain extent. Either this manuscript or its exemplar must have been readily available to Parisian book-producers of the 1340s.

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cv and table 14, pp. cv–cvii.

<sup>60</sup> Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. I, pp. 248–9; Christopher Lucken, 'Les portes de la mémoire', 3 vols., Doctoral Thesis, Université de Geneva (1993), vol. 3, Annexe, pp. 29–96.



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Plate 1.1  
MS G of the Bestiaire d'amour, fr. 15213, fol. 60v



ou oïl se deuient de latur a uoir aoz  
 les aoir a memoire a rembrer. Et por  
 ce que cil eschiz est mes arriuebanz  
 et mes derreins seours que ie puisse  
 mander si ouient q'ie parole plus foist  
 que enton les autres. Au s'ins q'me le  
 conto de la nature dou cor qui tant  
 meil chante p'unt plus pres de la uer  
 pree ou de la iounee de tant chante il  
 plus souuent. et de tant q'me il chan  
 te plus pres de la meunir de tant chan  
 te il plus efforcement et plus li engoie  
 se sauoir. La ne p'ie a l'aoz  
 nee qui a nature de oz a  
 de nuit mes lee ensemble se  
 ne fie la m de on na mie dou  
 tout esperance et la meunir senefie  
 l'auoir dou tout de l'esperance. Et que  
 ie na des oz et mes mule eschiz a ce de  
 vostre l'one uolente auoir s'mest ausis  
 q'me meunir et q'it ior auant eschiz  
 ce si au ausis q'me la ne p'ie si ch'unt  
 adonc plus souuent aoz le me q'it  
 faire plus efforcement. Et la raison de  
 ce q'li des eschizers a plus fort uoir si est  
 p'ise en la beste dou monde q'ma plus  
 laide uoir et plus orrible. C'est la faine can  
 uages. Sa nature si est tele q'it ne  
 recharme onds des q'it a erragier  
 q'it fain et q'it ne puet trouer de quon  
 il se p'ist alouier. C'est a de met il s'it  
 p'ame a recharmer q'it se deront touz.  
 pource me ouient il q'it  
 le ne p'ist en uoir trouer  
 mer ci mettre greign  
 p'ime ne mie a aformit  
 chanter mes a formit dire car li ch  
 ter doie bñ auoir p'ou selonc la nati  
 re dou lou. Sa nature si est tele que  
 q'it il uoit. j. l'ome amz q'li l'ont le  
 uoir li l'ont pert la uoir q'it ne pu  
 et mor somer ne dire.

le l'ont pert la uoir

Et se li l'ont uoir le l'ont  
 auant li l'ont pert la uoir  
 ce et son l'ardement ce  
 est eschiz et l'unes du  
 toute. Ceste nature est trouee en a  
 mouz d'ite et de faine.  
 Car q'it il a amour entre  
 ens deus se li l'ont puet a  
 p'ionir que la faine a l'  
 l'ardre tant q'it li face reñoir faine la faine  
 me a puis pou le l'ont pert la uoir  
 q'el p'ou ce q'ie ne p'ou sou f'it a de  
 couuoir mo corange auant q'ie l'ense  
 dou uoir a quel ch'et ie p'isse uoir  
 si m'auz uoir eschiz et p'ou ce quere  
 sus p'ime m'auz uoir selonc la nati  
 re dou lou ie doie p'ise la uoir. C'est une  
 m'auz p'ou ce q'ie l'ense n'est pas f'it  
 en ch'unt. q'el en otant. Et une  
 raison de ce meesmes si est p'ise en la  
 nature dou uoir. Car li ch'et si est  
 de tel nature q'it il a tant sou ch'unt  
 et tant si deduit q'it sen lecte p'ou ch  
 tier et ensis m'iert en ch'unt a l'  
 Et p'ce me sus le p'ert car  
 de que li ch'anters m'au p'ou  
 uoir et que ie m'au p'isse bñ  
 tant fier q'ie p'ou m'au  
 meesmes. q'el m'iert a ce q'ie p'ou  
 uoir q'ie l'ense q'ie m'au ch'anters q'ie  
 m'au d'it en ch'unt a de me f'it  
 il p'ist a l'ense q'me len d'it q'it est un  
 p'is ou les cignes ch'antent si bñ a l'  
 uolentiers q'it on loz l'ur p'andant  
 il s'acordent a la l'ur a l'ense q'me l'ita  
 uoir au flagiau et nou meesmes en lan  
 q'it d'it m'au. si q'it len ot. j. si bñ  
 ch'anters et si uolentiers si d'it on tel m'au  
 ra en cest an. Et por l'ap  
 our q'it de la mort au  
 rosignoir et de la mort  
 au cigne les faire le ch'unt

Plate 1.2  
 MS F of the Bestiaire d'amour, fr. 24406, folio 141r

While the appearance of  $V^2$  certainly defies expectations of what a professional Parisian copyist would normally produce, it would not be the first example discovered of a provincial patron having a book copied after a Parisian original, if not necessarily made by Parisian hands.<sup>61</sup> The relatively sloppy nature of the  $V^2$  scribe and the low quality of the materials allow for the possibility that borrowing the exemplar may in fact have been the most expensive aspect of producing the book.<sup>62</sup> Normally, keeping a scribe on retainer would be less cost effective even than ordering a bespoke collection; yet surely some scribes were cheaper than others. This tenuous line of reasoning should be remembered when certain claims about the dialects of  $V^1$  are considered below.

## 1.2 Previous Source-Study of $V$ and Linguistic Analyses

The only work to date devoted exclusively to  $V$  is the 1974 doctoral dissertation of Fiona McAlpine, which consists of a brief discussion of the manuscript, a contour-based analysis of  $V^1$ 's melodies, and an edition of most of its chansons. McAlpine considers  $V^2$  and its relationship to  $V^1$  to be irrelevant to her purpose. She does provide a kind of table of contents for  $V$ , treating the whole as divided into four parts:  $V^1$  (fols. 1–119v, 'le chansonnier proprement dit'), the *Traitié de quatre nécessaires*,

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<sup>61</sup> The Rouses present the phenomenon of scribes sent to Paris to seek out exemplars and bring back their own copies as an earlier practice, citing examples from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, yet vernacular owner-made or household-made manuscripts certainly did continue to be produced. Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. I p. 27, and see also Busby, *Codex*, vol. 1, pp. 56–7.

<sup>62</sup> For a comparison of the price of renting exemplars to the amount actually paid to the scribe, see Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 87–9; Richard and Mary Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, Ca. 1250–ca. 1350', in *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: Exemplar et pecia*, Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot, Richard H. Rouse, eds., Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983 (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), pp. 41–114 at pp. 76–8; and Louis Jacques Bataillon, 'Comptes de Pierre de Limoges pour la copie de livres', in *ibid.*, pp. 265–273, at pp. 266–7.

the bestiary, and the religious song collection. Her analysis extends only to part 1.<sup>63</sup> McAlpine notes the same elements of decoration as Segre (i.e., the gilded lettrines, coloured initials, notation), the coat of arms of Claude d'Urfé, and the marriage note of Raoulet Berthelot (though not the pen trials on fols. 119v or 140). In addition, she identifies two different text scribes and two different notators in *V*<sup>1</sup>, a circumstance never previously acknowledged. As McAlpine undertakes no comparison of *V*<sup>1</sup>'s hands and that of *V*<sup>2</sup>, which would be relevant here, her palaeographical contributions are a secondary concern. The next chapter will return to her brief discussion of the scribes and the accompanying table to consider whether her conclusions remain convincing.

McAlpine also undertakes a linguistic analysis of *V*<sup>1</sup>, thus providing an interesting counterpart to that of Järnström. The project of separating out the dialect of the author from that of the scribe is a common one in editions of trouvère poetry. It can be revealing, at least in the sense that it shows to what degree differing conceptions of the same language can interact through the process of copying. The legitimization of the variant provoked reactions among philologists and linguists as among musicians, with the result that the neat dialectical distinctions McAlpine posits, particularly where dialects associated with the Île-de-France are concerned, now look outdated.<sup>64</sup> McAlpine's attempt is of interest here since it directly relates to

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<sup>63</sup> '[S]eule la première nous concerne ici', McAlpine, *Chansonnier*, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> The issue is complicated by the fact that 'Francien' was long held to be the origin for standard French; McAlpine could not have predicted the subsequent debates regarding literary and oral koinéisation within Paris. See Anthonij Dees, 'Langue littéraire et langue des chartes au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Actes del XVI congrès internacional de lingüística i filologia romaniques* (Palma: Editorial Moll, 1985), pp. 407–14; *idem*, *Atlas des formes linguistiques des textes littéraires de l'ancien français*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 212 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1987); Christopher Callahan, 'Aspects de la scriptologie des chansonniers français des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* LXVIII (1990), pp. 680–97; Bernard Cerquignani, *La naissance du français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993); and Robert Anthony Lodge, 'The Sources of Standardisation in French and the Speech of Medieval Paris', in Kurt Gärtner and Günter Holtus, eds., *Überlieferungs- und Aneignungsprozesse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert auf dem Gebiet der*

the habits and character of the scribes of *V<sup>l</sup>*. Her analysis allows a concise summary of the limits of the search for the scribe's dialect.

It is clear, as McAlpine identifies, that *V<sup>l</sup>*'s scribes follow certain tendencies in their unique variants. Most noticeable among these is the deletion of the letter *r* when it appears internally, as for example in the word *parla* (written *palla*), the words *parlement* (written *pallement*) and *parler* (written *paller*) or in the word *arbre* (written *abre*), and the name *merlin* (written *melin*).<sup>65</sup> McAlpine cites the example of *paller* in her discussion and argues that this detail demonstrates the influence of Francien.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, her certainty is much greater than we would expect from contemporary dialectologists.<sup>67</sup>

As in other cases, *V<sup>l</sup>*'s scribes are inconsistent. Scribe B has no objection to maintaining both *r*'s in *perdre*, *guerpir*, or *chartre*.<sup>68</sup> Even in some instances of *arbre*, the orthography matches modern practice.<sup>69</sup> McAlpine offers only the five examples of *paller* for evidence of '[c]ette chute de la lettre "r"' which 'est attestée dès le XIIe siècle dans le dialecte parisien et se trouve écrite dans un document de 1279'.<sup>70</sup>

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*westmitteldeutschen und ostfranzösischen Urkunden und Literatursprachen*, Beiträge zum Kolloquium von 20. bis 22. Juni 2001 in Trier (Trier: Kliomedia, 2005), pp. 369–382; Cerquiligni's groundbreaking work on the variant provoked the new methodological considerations that concerned the Trier project. See Harald Völker, 'A "practice of the variant" and the Origins of the Standard: Presentation of a Variationist Linguistics Method for a Corpus of Old French Charters', *French Language Studies* 17 (2007), pp. 207–223 at pp. 213 and pp. 217–18 for a discussion of the circular reasoning potentially involved in using 'dialectal traits' to date or assign an original location to charters.

<sup>65</sup> *Palla*: fol. 19r col. a line 7; *pallement*: fol. 21r col. b staves II–III; *paller*: fol. 7v col. b line 32, fol. 10r col. b staff V, fol. 16r col. b line 23, fol. 17r col. b line 7, fol. 21r col. b staves VII–VIII, fol. 29r col. a line 5, and in Scribe B's section fol. 74v col. b line 21; *abre*: fol. 14v col. a staff I and fol. 17v col. b staff III; *Melin* fol. 18r col. b lines 9–10.

<sup>66</sup> 'Ce qui donc indiquerait une influence française, voire parisienne, est la graphie "paller" pour "parler"...', McAlpine, 'Chansonier', p. 15.

<sup>67</sup> 'Le chansonier est écrit dans le dialecte de l'Île-de-France du XIIIe siècle.' *Ibid.*, p. 14. McAlpine's source for this claim, Pierre Fouché, relies on a single document of 1279, les Roles de taille rose, see Fouché, *Phonétique historique du Français* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1952–61) p. 863, cited in *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> *Perdre*: fol. 7v col. a line 19; *guerpir*: fol. 73v col. a staff II; *chartre*: fol. 92r col. a line 11.

<sup>69</sup> *Arbre*: fol. 87v col. b staff II.

<sup>70</sup> Her numbers 15/2/1, 54/4/8, 9/5/5, 42/1/4 and 42/1/10, McAlpine, 'Chansonier', p. 15.

Thus McAlpine's statement can be qualified: the first scribe tends occasionally towards the omission of *r*'s within consonant clusters, especially before *l* (as in the numerous examples deriving from *parler*, and the name *merlin*). This tendency does not seem to characterize the second scribe of *V*<sup>1</sup> and it is demonstrably absent in the copyist of *V*<sup>2</sup>: the word *arbre* is copied five times on fol. 125v without once missing an *r*. When the word *parler* appears on the same page, it too has both *rs*. Much later in *V*<sup>2</sup>, on fol. 149v col. a line 40, Merlin is referenced again, this time with an *r*. The word *arbres* (with both *rs*) reappears in a *chanson pieuse* as well on fol. 150r col. b line 1.

Some other aspects of McAlpine's description remain open to challenge: her assertion that 'comme les terminaisons -ant et -anz ne riment jamais, on peut conclure que le scribe entendait que l'on prononçât la fricative finale, du moins à la fin d'un vers', contradicts the orthographical evidence of certain rhymes, for example in song 10 stanza 3, where *granz* and *talant* rhyme in verses 9 and 10.<sup>71</sup> These exceptions do not disprove McAlpine's general observations. Whether this revised evidence could still be used to suggest a secure region for the linguistic formation of the *V*<sup>1</sup> scribes' idiolects is another matter entirely.

The association of *V* with Francien (if not the Île-de-France per se) has been vindicated by some subsequent linguistic research. Christopher Callahan's 'scriptological' survey of the trouvère chansonniers groups *V* securely with the sources *KNPX* and describes them all (except for the slightly picardized *P*) as displaying species of Francien graphism.<sup>72</sup> At the same time, Callahan carries out his research precisely in order to challenge the assumption that regional dialectal traits

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<sup>71</sup> *V* fol. 5r, col. b lines 13–14. See also the rhyme between *uis* and *anemiz* on fol. 8v col. a line 34.

<sup>72</sup> Callahan, 'Scriptologie', at p. 683.

could reasonably be identified in literary texts. In all of the ten chansonniers, he identifies what he considers the ‘forte influence normativisante’ characteristic of the transmission of Old-French literary texts.<sup>73</sup> This can be seen in the adherence to etymological spellings in *K*, *N*, *O*, *P*, *X*, and *V* and hyper-corrections of the case system in *V* in particular.<sup>74</sup> The lack of regional variants indicative of Picard, Champenois, or eastern compilation is therefore no guarantee that a manuscript was copied in or near Paris, any more than *V*’s written distinction between *s* and *z* necessarily reflects pronunciation rooted in 12th-century phonological distinctions. Important advances in vernacular codicology may very well show that the *koinization* to be found in literary texts does reflect the economic concentration of book production in Paris and a Parisian origin for some of these chansonniers is conceivable.<sup>75</sup> Yet Callahan’s caveat remains relevant: habits of spelling reveal more about influences and pretensions than about location.

### 1.3 Recent Manuscript Descriptions: Epstein and Aubrey

The closest any scholar has come to a comprehensive description of the codex and its notators is Marcia Epstein in her edition of the religious contrafacts in *C*, *V* and *X*.<sup>76</sup> Writing twenty years after McAlpine, she tentatively supports the case for *V* as a composite manuscript, asserting with her predecessors that the text hand of the second

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 682.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 693–4.

<sup>75</sup> Alison Stones describes *KNPX* and *V* as ‘Parisian’ in her *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France 2, 4 vols. (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller/Brepols, 2013), Part II vol. 1, p. 160. This is by way of contrasting the decoration of these five codices to the standardized (in her opinion) Artesian-produced chansonniers *A*, *a*, and *M*, *ibid.*, Part II vol. 1, pp. 61, 158–62.

<sup>76</sup> Marcia Jenneth Epstein, ed., *‘Prions en chantant’: Devotional Songs of the Trouvères*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), ‘Manuscript Sources’, pp. 3–12.



codex is later than those in the first. Her focus is the religious contrafacta of fols. 149–155, but she is refreshingly thorough in describing the whole manuscript and even provides an account of all three music scribes, offering tentative conclusions on their dating.<sup>77</sup> Basing her reasoning on the notational usage as compared to that indicated in 13<sup>th</sup>- and early 14<sup>th</sup>-century music treatises, she suggests the range 1270–1320 for the music in *V*<sup>2</sup>.<sup>78</sup> Her dating of the text hand of *V*<sup>2</sup> after those of *V*<sup>1</sup> presumably implies the same relationship between the notators. Epstein’s chart of notational forms from *V*<sup>2</sup> in her Appendix A is the first of its kind and supplies a necessary complement to McAlpine’s attempt for the *V*<sup>1</sup> notators. The implicit dialogue between these two authors’ charts and those of Mary O’Neill (who treats *V* as a unified whole) will provide the starting-point of the notational discussion in Part II. Despite the preponderance of forms associated with early mensural or ‘Franconian’ notation, Epstein considers that *V*<sup>2</sup>’s notator does not use the signs in a consistent enough way to demonstrate familiarity with ‘correct mensural usage’ and the rules of the ‘new mensural style which became common in France around 1260 for the notation of polyphony.’<sup>79</sup> Her open-minded stance to the question of musical error and notators’ competence is intriguing and might easily apply to *V*<sup>1</sup> as much as to *V*<sup>2</sup>: ‘Where the manuscripts exhibit actual errors or inconsistencies, as distinct from variants, these flaws probably resulted not from ignorance on the part of the scribe but from the degree of familiarity that admits carelessness.’<sup>80</sup> This perspective (refreshing in the context of the censorious philologists and editors who have discussed *V*<sup>1</sup>) may

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

prove useful when considering the general quality of  $V^2$  and when the music might have been added.

Like Segre, Epstein takes note of the ‘written notice of the marriage of Raoulet Berthelot and Perine de Fougerays’, though she provides the date 1457 instead of Segre’s 1427 (in fact, Segre is correct, as will shortly be demonstrated). Her description of the three crests on fol. 1 disagrees with Omont’s with respect to colour.<sup>81</sup> She references Omont’s catalogue to identify Claude d’Urfé’s coat of arms on the first folio.<sup>82</sup> Her account of the current binding and decoration is admirably thorough.<sup>83</sup> She is also the first to offer a complete collation of the manuscript: quaternions for the first 15 gatherings followed by a sesternion with a folio insert, a quaternion, a binion with a folio insert and a quinternion.<sup>84</sup> This will be compared to the later collation of Aubrey and challenged below.

Epstein’s description, in contrast to those preceding it, opens up pertinent questions: why are the capitals discontinued, if not because it is a composite manuscript? How long after the binding of  $V^1$  with  $V^2$  was the gilding added (considering that it has been applied equally to  $V^1$  and  $V^2$ )? Who was responsible for the heavy use Epstein describes? And where was the manuscript before being sold to the Bibliothèque nationale in 1895?

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<sup>81</sup> ‘...the first and third are red with a central gold cross, and the second shows a double-armed cross in blue with red bars on a field of gold’, *ibid.*, p. 7. In fact, the arms appear on the verso of fol. A, not fol. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Omont, *Catalogue général*, cited in *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Manuscript  $V$  measures 28.75 cm x 19 cm. The restored binding is red leather with gilt over boards, the pastedowns are of wave-patterned paper, there are three paper flyleaves on one of which a list of contents is added in a nineteenth-century hand. The manuscript is made of parchment, with pages edged in gold; each page is arranged in two columns. Capital letters are in red and blue with gold, the large ones being 4.5 cm square in size, and the small 1 cm square; capitals are discontinued from fol. 120... The manuscript exhibits signs of use: a dark smudge is on the lower corner of each page, and there are signs of wear along the edges. It was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale on 14 March 1895.’ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> Thus the folio ranges 120–132), 133–140, 141–5, and 146–155 would each comprise a gathering.



These questions came to be answered by Elizabeth Aubrey in her entry for Secular Monophony in the *New Grove*.<sup>85</sup> Her catalogue of trouvère manuscripts remains definitive for many of these chansonniers, despite the necessarily compact nature of a dictionary entry. Her systematic approach to providing information serves *V* well: her template dictates dividing the evidence into the categories of Contents, Text Scribes, Music Scribes, Dating, Origin, Provenance, and a short bibliography. While much of the information she provides is by no means new, she offers significant contributions relevant to the questions of ordering and provenance.<sup>86</sup> She traces the manuscript back further than Epstein, to its sale to ‘Louis César de La Beaume le Blanc, duc de La Vallière, sometime after 1766’ and its sale by his heirs to the Bibliothèque du roi in 1784 (we have seen this attested by the entry in Guillaume de Bure’s description). Aubrey was the first to take detailed notice of the various gathering signatures, pagination and foliation. She singles out two of these due to the interesting revelation that they run through the entire manuscript, yet start counting from *V*<sup>2</sup>. Modern scholarship thus finally compensated the loss of Meyer’s and Brakelmann’s conclusions.

Despite her breakthrough, Aubrey avoids offering a conclusion to the questions of compilation. She lists *V* as one of the chansonniers included in a miscellany, but also notes *V*<sup>1</sup> and *V*<sup>2</sup> as ‘self-contained collections’; later she refers to *V*<sup>1</sup> as ‘the song fascicle’, and divides her description of the various scribal hands into sections a), dealing with the two hands of *V*<sup>1</sup>, and b), dealing with the single scribe of *V*<sup>2</sup>. Understandably, a complete survey of all manuscript sources for French monophony must be chary in offering original conclusions; it is telling that in such a

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<sup>85</sup> Aubrey, ‘4 French’, at pp. 857–8.

<sup>86</sup> E.g., she cites the by-now standard mention of Raoulet and Perine’s marriage and the coat of arms of Claude d’Urfé under the section ‘Provenance’, *ibid.*, at p. 857.

context she was able to offer more than any previous scholar, even those working exclusively on  $V$ . Yet the precise historical relationship between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  has yet to be clarified. Any manuscript study focusing on  $V^1$  at the expense of  $V^2$  must therefore offer some justification and take a position on the relevance of one part of the codex to the other.

## 2. Codicological Differences: The Evidence for Dividing $V$

### 2.1 Gathering Structure

In contrast to  $V^1$ 's homogeneous structure,  $V^2$  bears traces of more slapdash assembly. Aubrey has stated that  $V^1$  is exclusively in quaternion form, while  $V^2$  includes 'a sesternion, three binions, a bifolio, and a quinternion'. Aubrey's collation of  $V^1$  can be readily confirmed from the physical appearance of the gatherings. It appears to be accurate for  $V^2$  as well; however, it is worth noting the fragility of the parchment and regrettable state of the inner margins (the pages had been glued into the binding, much tearing has taken place and small paper guards are regularly inserted). It is thus difficult to be certain when we are dealing with a binion, a bifolio, or a larger gathering that disintegrated and was re-inserted at the time of restoration. From a comparison of the current ordering of the text, the gathering signatures, and the roman numeral foliation, it is possible to hypothesize  $V^2$  has been bound in at least three different orderings and that in two of them it preceded  $V^1$ .

The lacunae and mis-orderings in the text of the unedited *Traitié de quatre nécessaires* serve as a guide. Six gatherings and one independent folio are currently discernible in  $V^2$  (see Figure 1.1 below and Appendix A, Table 9.1). The single folio (fol. 132) probably represents the first leaf of what was once a gathering. Another gathering (or at least a single interleaved folio) must have existed between fol. 139 and fol. 140 (see the partial transcription and reconstruction in Appendix A, section 6). The text is correctly ordered between fols. 120 and 131, between fols. 135 and 139, and from fol. 140 to the end.

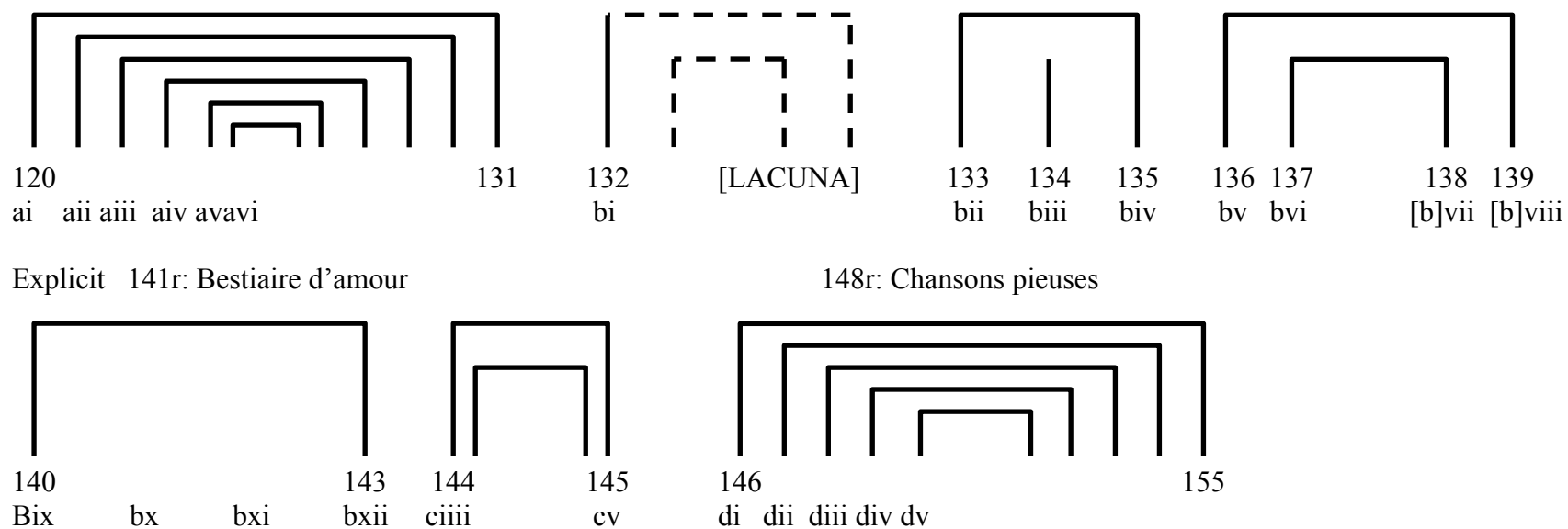
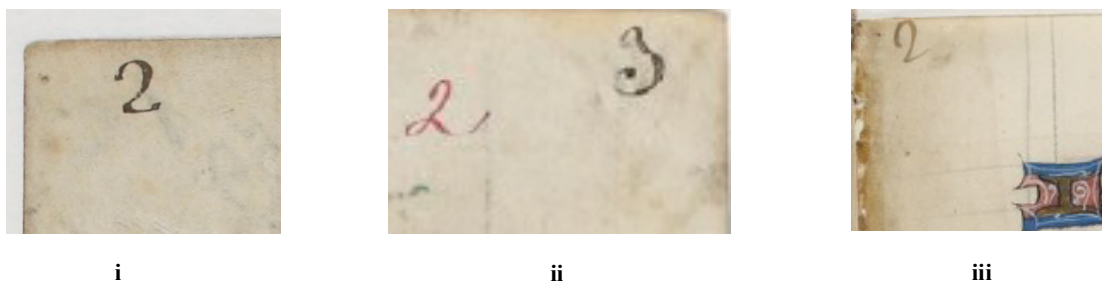


Figure 1.1 Gathering Structure of  $V^2$

If the irregularity of  $V^2$ 's gatherings contrasts with the consistent quaternions of  $V^I$ , the one exception in  $V^I$  reinforces that contrast. The final quaternion, fols. 113–119, is missing a folio at the very end. What would have been fol. 120 has been cut off, superfluous for the purposes of  $V^I$  which concludes its final song and ends with an explicit on fol. 119v. Perhaps the original folio was initially conserved and left blank as a guard at the end of the codex. In either case, this detail demonstrates that  $V^I$  was a separate production unit and one whose ending was conceived of as the end of a collection. The two sections were not initially bound together, at least not in the ordering in which they currently find themselves.

## 2.2 Gathering Signatures

In all, there are three different types of gathering signatures, two foliations, and one pagination in  $V$ . Reliable datings for such markings are more difficult to ascertain than those for a text scribe, whose ductus, use of letter-forms, aspect, and other palaeographical details are in ample supply from the body of the text copied. Nonetheless, we can safely regard the foliation in red arabic numerals as a late addition to the manuscript, along with the black gathering signatures that appear in the upper left-hand corners of most gatherings (see Appendix A Table 9.1). Both of these match the current ordering of the manuscript, contradicting the roman numeral markings in places. The other numberings are more useful keys to the manuscript's history; some of these are limited to  $V^I$ .



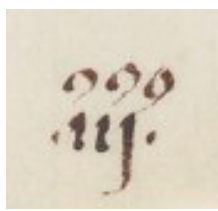
**Plate 1.3 Pagination, Foliation, and Gathering Numbers in fr. 24406:**  
**i) fol. 1v, arabic pagination; ii) fol. 2r, arabic pagination and foliation;**  
**iii) fol. 9r, gathering number**

The foliation, gathering signatures, and arabic gathering numbers extend through the entire manuscript (the last gathering number, 21, appears on fol. 144r, indicating the beginning of the closing quinternion) whereas the pagination and roman gathering numbers end with  $V^1$ . The fact that these numerations end does not prove the manuscripts were divided at the time. The paginator evidently tired of his or her task and lost count in a number of places, as outlined in the appendix. From fol. 43r (what would be page 85), only alternate pages are marked, then from fol. 53r the pagination is increasingly intermittent. This quickly resulted in the paginator losing count (Appendix A Table 9.2 proposes an explanation for how mistakes and corrections proceeded without recourse to missing folios). The reason the pagination stops before  $V^2$  may be lack of interest or of stamina.

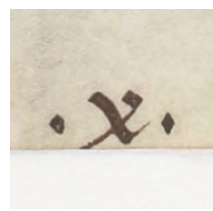
The larger, more formal gathering numbers also limited to  $V^1$  closely resemble the text hands and are probably earlier than the pagination. This numbering, in high-grade textualis, appears in the centre of the bottom margin on the verso of the final folio of each quaternion. It is occasionally cut off, as on Gatherings 2, 9 and 11–14, though the top of the signature often is still visible, as on Gathering 11. In  $V^2$ , the



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ii



iii

**Plate 1.4 Roman Gathering Numbers in fr. 24406, Gatherings 1–11:**

**i) fol. 8v, Gathering 1; ii) fol. 24v, Gathering 3;**

**iii) fol. 80v, Gathering 10**

numeration is not cut off but completely missing from  $V^2$ , even where the pages are left with generous bottom margins. The example of the pagination advises caution: these markings likely post-date the gathering signatures and foliation that run through  $V^2$  and  $V^1$ , suggesting that the manuscript had been rebound and reordered when the pagination was added; the pagination ends before  $V^2$  possibly because of the specialized interest of the paginator, or simply because the upper margins of  $V^2$  have since been so narrowly cut. The gathering signatures, on the other hand, are of interest because they begin at fol. 1 and because they plausibly predate all other numbering systems. If that is the case, they represent a period in  $V^1$ 's production before it was combined with  $V^2$ , demonstrating that it was initially imagined as a self-contained unit. Even if it was intended to be inserted into a miscellany, the appearance of that miscellany was surely not expected to be that of  $V^2$ , as the following consideration will show.

### 2.3 Prickings

One definite contrast between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  is the differing way prickings are used in the two parts of the manuscript. It is rare to see any, perhaps suggesting that most gatherings once had prickings that appeared at the very edge of originally very wide

margins. Where prickings do appear, they offer enigmas. In the first gathering, prickings along the bottom margin designate the doubled vertical border of the outer margin and the two edges of the centre margin. There may well have been prickings for the inner margins as well; however, these have not survived due to the angle at which the parchment was cut. In the following gathering, no prickings are visible, presumably because the parchment was cut higher than in the first gathering, leaving a much smaller lower margin. This explanation cannot hold for Gathering 3, however, where the lower margin is generous and yet prickings remain absent.

The next time prickings are again visible is in the tenth gathering, yet here they have no discernible purpose: instead of indicating the rulings of the page, they are spaced very closely in a short horizontal stretch along the edge of the bottom margin. They do not begin or end with any element of the ruling layout. In Gathering 11, the same pricking scheme as in the first gathering recurs: in this case, one prick corresponds to each vertically ruled line of the page and the dry-point rulings almost perfectly intersect with the prickings. As the parchment has been cut parallel to the horizontal rulings, all of the prickings are visible. They are also somewhat larger than those in the first gathering, suggesting a different technique for puncturing the parchment, but at least following the same general geometrical scheme. In the Gathering 12, more ambiguous prickings appear, including two small columns in the lower margin under the inner column of fols. 90r–94v (they appear to have been made from the verso side of fol. 94v). Near the centre margin there is also a row of prickings, again not corresponding to any element of the ruled page. They are visible from fols. 90 to 93v and seem to have been made from the verso of that folio.

What prickings are visible in  $V^2$  definitively contrast with those just described. Whereas  $V^1$ 's prickings are exclusively horizontal and appear in the bottom margin,



$V^2$ 's are exclusively vertical and appear in the inner and outer margins. They make their first appearance on fol. 143, where they are found in the inner margin about 13 millimetres from the edge of the text block. There are enough for each pricking to correspond to a baseline ruling. From fol. 144r, prickings on the outer margin are visible; if there were prickings on the inner margin as well, the binding is too tight for them to be seen. Like those on fol. 143, they correspond precisely to the horizontal rulings. Finally, in the quinternion comprising fols. 146–155, prickings are visible on the inner margins (only a few millimetres from the text block) and the remnants of prickings are occasionally just visible at the very outer edge of the pages. Like before, they correspond to the horizontal ruling of the text block; however, it is worth noting that the introduction of staves from fol. 149 disrupts the regular alignment and requires that the ruling dimensions indicated by the prickings be abandoned. Perhaps the inconvenience of staves discouraged the compilers of the secular chansonnier from using vertical prickings at all.

## 2.4 Scribes

There is a single scribe for all of  $V^2$  and one music notator. Aubrey considers this notator was later, possibly even modern (to be considered below). By contrast, the compilation of  $V^1$  relied on an efficient method of sharing work. Two text scribes split the task evenly (changing over in the middle of a song, though at a gathering change), while the first notator was relieved of duty early on, again at a gathering change and in the middle of a piece. This overlap of scribe changes and alignment with gatherings suggests the copyists were working along the same lines as a pecia system. Their

exemplar (or exemplars) was presumably shared between them so that both could copy simultaneously, each working on a different gathering.

These scribe and notator identifications, evident as they are from the manuscript, date back to McAlpine. There is no reason to question that there are indeed changes of scribe and notator where they have traditionally been assigned. The scribes' and notators' ductus and aspect, however, does shift and it is reasonable to question whether there may not be more than two scribes in *V<sup>1</sup>* and perhaps whether more than one notator had a hand in fols. 1–48. Since it is clear that none of the scribes or notators of *V<sup>1</sup>* was involved in the copying of *V<sup>2</sup>*, the question of additional hands can safely be deferred until a discussion of *V*'s reception and changing function. For the time being, all that is necessary is to compare the general differences between the *V<sup>2</sup>* scribe and notator, and all four confirmed scribes and notators of *V<sup>1</sup>*.

## 2.5 Decoration, Mise en page, Song Divisions

Juxtaposing the decoration of *V<sup>1</sup>* to that of *V<sup>2</sup>* is almost an unfair comparison: it is mostly a simple question of presence versus absence. *V<sup>1</sup>* sports gilded lettrines throughout, both at the beginnings of songs and at the beginnings of stanzas. It opens with a miniature, coats of arms, and a larger decorated initial containing lavish ornamentation. *V<sup>2</sup>* contains only empty space for these types of elements. This comparison shows not merely that *V<sup>1</sup>* was completed and *V<sup>2</sup>* was not (incidentally, this alone would not prove that the two were unrelated, only produced in different stages). Comparing the layout of specifically the songs in *V<sup>2</sup>* to those in *V<sup>1</sup>* shows that the compilers of each codex had a different idea of how a chansonnier should look (Plates 1.5, 1.6). Beyond the irregularity of its gatherings, informality of its script, and



Plate 1.5 Mise en page in  $V^1$ , fol. 3v

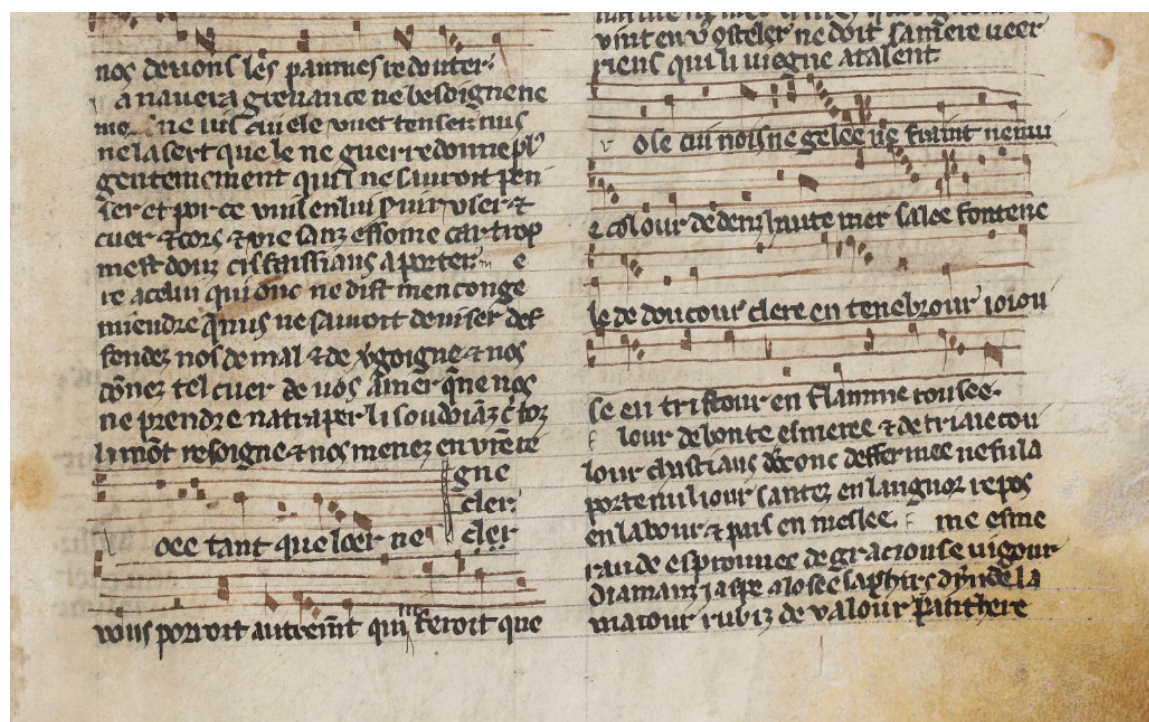


Plate 1.6 Mise en page in  $V^2$ , fol. 153r

absence of decoration, *V*<sup>2</sup>'s *mise en page* betrays an obsession with saving space. To be sure, room is left for a large initial and perhaps even a miniature on the first folio of the *Traité*, and the text of the *Bestiaire* is aligned to allow the possibility of inserting accompanying miniatures (all sources of Richard's prose work share this trait).<sup>87</sup> The first letter of each chanson is missing as well and the first letter of subsequent stanzas is supplied hesitantly, merely as an indication to the illuminator. The space may show simply that the possibility of illumination was left open, not definitely expected. In his landmark work on compilation in English manuscripts, Ralph Hanna stresses the importance of flexibility to tradesmen designing goods for the medieval book-market.<sup>88</sup> This was certainly a benefit of fascicular construction, and it was also an argument for postponing illumination until last. Richard and Mary Rouse have shown that in typical Parisian practice, copying and decoration could be outsourced to separate *escrivains* or *escrivaines* and *enlumineurs* or *enlumineresses*, all coordinated by the *libraire* (*librarius*).<sup>89</sup> Planned but unexecuted illumination might be attributed to a miscommunication between scribe and *libraire*, to a change in intended buyer, or simply to the *libraire* changing his or her mind.

What would have been provided, had the illuminations been executed in *V*<sup>2</sup>, would have differed considerably from *V*<sup>1</sup>. First, there would necessarily have been a difference in size and placement in the lettrines that begin songs. *V*<sup>1</sup>'s miniatures measure consistently more than 15 millimetres, usually surpassing 20. Much space is

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<sup>87</sup> Ludmilla Evdokimova, 'Disposition des lettrines dans le *Bestiaire d'amour*', *Le moyen age: revue d'histoire et de philologie* 103 (1997), pp. 83–115; her analysis of the lettrines further confirms the similarity between manuscripts *F* (fr. 24406) and *G* (fr. 15213) of the *Bestiaire d'amours*.

<sup>88</sup> Hanna, *Pursuing History*, pp. 8–10, 26 and *idem* 'Booklets', pp. 102–5.

<sup>89</sup> See Keith Busby, *Codex in Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 24–37 for an outline of the role of *librarius* in the production of vernacular manuscripts; Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, chapter 2, 'Ecclesiastical Patrons and Prosperity', pp. 51–72 at pp. 70–71 and chapter 4, 'The Constable and the Flying Horse: Emerging Commercial Production of Vernacular Romance in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris', pp. 99–126 at pp. 107–109, 114–20.

allowed in the prose texts around this. Not so for the religious songs: the diminutive height of the staves in  $V^2$  (less than two lines of text, which are already narrower than those in  $V^1$ ) would have limited the scope for lettrines considerably, always assuming they would have been copied over the staff. The fact that the clefs appear squarely in the middle of the only possible space for lettrines suggests that the music was added after the compilers had already abandoned the project of illuminated (or ink-flourished) capitals. The situation is similar for the first letters of stanzas: the reduced ruling height would certainly have required compact initials. Furthermore, in  $V^1$ , the first line of stanzas was consistently left-justified, rarely the case in  $V^2$ . Decorated initials would have appeared at odd intervals throughout the writing block, giving the whole a scattered appearance. This is not unheard of among trouvère chansonniers; it is simply several grades lower than the exceptionally high-grade gilded lettrines that appear for every stanza of  $V^1$ . Even if the two halves of the manuscript are related in terms of content, time, and place, they are worlds apart in terms of grade. This is not mere accident: the manuscripts' contrasting purposes permeate the basic design of their pages.

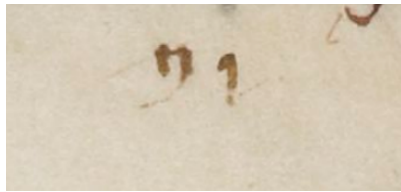
### 3. Codicological Consistencies: Evidence for an Early Combination of $V^1$ and $V^2$

#### 3.1 Physical Evidence: Gatherings, Foliation, Writing Block

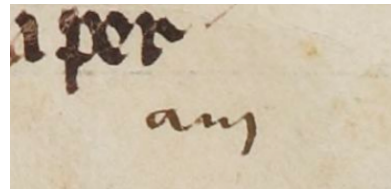
The earliest markings in a hand found in both  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  are those of the gathering signatures and pagination first identified by Aubrey. The gathering letters run along the bottom margins of recto pages, while foliation, intermittent and usually erased, appears in the right-hand margins (see Plate 1.7). This evidence shows that the manuscripts were united before the end of the Middle Ages, but also reveals a more surprising result: at some point, the manuscript was bound with  $V^2$  preceding  $V^1$ . The gathering signatures begin on fol. 120 with *a i* and proceed up to *d v* on fol. 150 (as described in Appendix A, the intervening signatures do not accurately reflect the gathering structure of  $V^2$ ). The signatures then continue on fol. 2 in  $V^1$  with Gathering *e*, from *ii* to *iiii*. With the possible exception of the corrector of Gatherings *b* and *c*, all these markings seem to be in the same hand, probably considerably younger than those of the text hands. The erased foliation, by contrast, harmonizes fairly well with the style of writing shared by the scribes and commentators. At the very least, this was a medieval foliation and thus more likely than the modern arabic numerals to reflect an ordering that was in place around the time of the manuscript's first binding.

The early foliation conforms in some places to my text-based reconstruction (see above and Appendix A, sections 1, 3, 6 and Table 9.1, col. 6), but elsewhere contradicts the flow of the text: at some point before the foliation, fols. 133–5 were folded the wrong way and

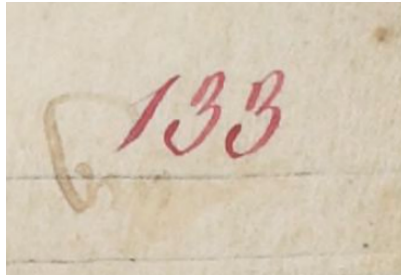




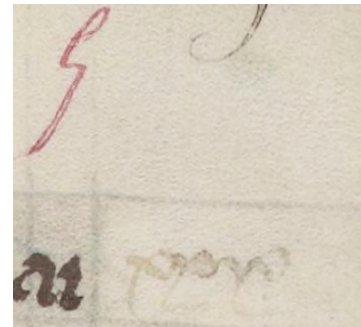
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**Plate 1.7 Gathering Signatures and Roman Foliation in  $V$ :**  
**i) fol. 17r, gathering signature in  $V^1$ ; ii) fol. 122r, gathering signature in  $V^2$ ;**  
**iii) fol. 133r, roman foliation in  $V^2$ ; iv) fol. 5r, roman foliation in  $V^1$**

fol. 134 was swapped with another single folio, probably the one intended to follow fol. 139. The early foliation probably already reflects the loss of one or more leaves from the third gathering of  $V^2$ , and erroneous (perhaps unbound) ordering of the remaining material. The roman foliation markings were thus added when  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  were already united and in the order  $V^2$ ,  $V^1$ .

The gathering letters in  $V^2$  on the other hand conform precisely to the current ordering and gloss over the gathering breaks (Table 9.1). They count too many folios as belonging to the same gathering, a difficult mistake to make if the gatherings were still physically detached. These gathering signatures (which match the current ordering of  $V^2$  more closely than the roman numeral foliation) must reflect an already bound manuscript and thus post-date the earliest binding. Perhaps they were inserted in preparation for re-ordering and rebinding.

A typically fruitful avenue of inquiry when considering whether two manuscripts could have originated from the same workshop is to compare ruling and layout. Even when different types and registers of material seem to demand different approaches to *mise en page*, house styles of ruling may still shine through; the religious may thus be disguised among the vernacular and vice versa.<sup>90</sup> Transitioning between prose and poetry (or, in this case, music and prose) is another matter. The contrast in layout between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  cannot be taken as definitive, simply because the textual format contrasts as well. Furthermore, the inconsistencies within each half of the manuscript are as great as those between the two.  $V^1$ 's opening promises consistency, but major changes appear at fols. 17r (coinciding with a new gathering) and 65r (coinciding with a scribe change) and the number and size of ruled lines varies even within gatherings (see Appendix A, section 4). The difference in layout between an average page of  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  does not stand out as much visually as it might appear from Aubrey's measurements.<sup>91</sup>

The fact that this second collection begins with the same ruling format as  $V^1$  smooths the transition even further and even suggests intentionality. Could the scribe preparing the opening pages of  $V^2$  have somehow been aware of the dimensions of the manuscript his or her collection would ultimately follow? This individual piece of evidence is too weak to make a case for  $V^2$  being intended to follow  $V^1$  at the time of its copying; it contradicts the stronger evidence of the early foliation and gathering signatures, both of which indicate that  $V^1$  followed  $V^2$ . The ruling of fols. 120–2 does, perhaps, suggest a context in which two different standardized formats were common:

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<sup>90</sup> Busby discusses precisely this phenomenon in relation to scandalous *fabliaux* and moral fables cohabiting the same miscellanies in his *Codex in Context* vol. 1, pp. 437–463.

<sup>91</sup> Aubrey, '4 French', at p. 858.



one slightly higher-grade with wide rulings and ample margins, and another lower-grade format that economized on materials by squeezing more text onto the page. The projected grade of  $V^2$  evidently fell during the process of its compilation, although it could not have been particularly high to begin with. Even if it was never to be as careful and lavish as  $V^1$  (much less lavish than fr. 15213), the scribe left space for initials in the *Traité* and in the chansons, and space for miniatures in the *Bestiaire*, implying a decorator was to have been hired. Perhaps no more was expected than the unimpressive initials in brown ink on fol. 120, but the miniatures for the *Bestiaire* at the very least were supposed to be representational, judging by other witnesses of the treatise and by the descriptions that accompany the empty space on fol. 141v (quickly abandoned). The first impression of  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  in their present state defies any attempt to imagine them as belonging together: if we could see  $V^2$  as it was meant to be, this might not have been the case.

### 3.2 Thematic Unity

The unification of two codices, both containing 13<sup>th</sup>-century monophony in French would surely have been an obvious solution to any binder with both in his possession. Recognizing that the pieces at the end of  $V^2$  were the same type of song as those in  $V^1$  would take no great familiarity with the trouvère repertoire. More striking is the fact that many of these pieces are indeed contrafacta in the strictest sense: some of the religious pieces are conceived according to the same metrical pattern and even with the same rhyme sounds as their secular counterparts. They are also given the same melody. Cleverly disguised references or occasionally direct citations draw attention

to this pious appeal to vernacular authority: the second stanza of *L'autrier m'iere rendormiz* (RS 1559), the fourth song in *V*<sup>2</sup>, directly quotes its model:

‘Quant li rossinoil jolis  
chante seur la flour d'esté’,  
c'est li chans seur quoi j'ai mis  
le dit que je ai trouvé.<sup>92</sup>

The melody provided is indeed that of *Quant li rossignol* (RS 1559), as attested in numerous manuscripts with the melodic variation typical of trouvère melody. It was highly regarded by Grocheo, who cites it as the paradigmatic example of a *chanson corounnée* (*cantus coronatus*).

This text then, along with seven of the other contrafacta in *V*<sup>2</sup>, draws the connection between them closer. *V*<sup>1</sup> follows the trend of secular chansonniers and provides the song on fol. 77v (no. 192), along with other songs elsewhere attributed to the Chatelain de Couci. However, comparing the two melodies in *V* reveals striking differences that go far beyond the typical range of melodic variance. This phenomenon of extreme variance is encountered often in *V*<sup>1</sup> and can be witnessed again when comparing *Chanter m'estuet de la sainte pucelle* (RS 610) on fol. 148v to its model, *Comencement de douce seson bele* (RS 590=1328) on fol. 74v.<sup>93</sup> These songs connect *V*<sup>1</sup> to *V*<sup>2</sup> textually, but not musically. Chapter 5 will offer a more detailed consideration of *V*<sup>1</sup> in relation to other trouvère sources; in that discussion, it will become clear that this phenomenon is peculiar to the secular chanson collection

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<sup>92</sup> *V*<sup>2</sup> fol. 149r col. b. The text of this piece is edited in Järnström, *Recueil*, vol. 1, song no. IV, pp. 26–8; the music and text are presented in Tischler (no. 897.2), and the piece (music and text) is transcribed, edited in modern notation, and translated into English in Epstein (no. 35 op. cit. pp. 238–241). On the importance of this piece for the medieval understanding of the practice of contrafaction, see Hans Spanke, ‘Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen und Melodien in dem altfranzösischen Lyrik’, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 51 (1928), pp. 73–117, at p. 97.

<sup>93</sup> See also *Quant glace et nois et froidure* (RS 1779) on fol. 151r and its model *Quant flours et glais et verdure* (RS 1779=2119) on fol. 113v; and compare *A la mere dieu suir doit* (RS 1459, fol. 151v) to *Phelippe je vous demant* (RS 333, fol. 19v), both contrafacts of the troubadour canso, *Lou clar tans vei brunasir*.

in general, not to these particular songs and certainly not to  $V^2$ . In fact, the melodies present in  $V^2$  are much closer to early sources such as *M* or (in the case of *L'autrier*) the F manuscript of the Magnus Liber Organi (I-Fl Plut. 29.1), which offers the Latin version *Nitimur in vetitum* with a melody startlingly similar to that in  $V^2$ .<sup>94</sup>

The remaining four contrafacts modelled on pieces found in  $V^1$  have similar melodies, but ones that show enough divergence to suggest  $V^2$ 's notator found them from a different source than that of  $V^1$ .<sup>95</sup> The melodic differences found in these seven pieces may be cause to question the authenticity of  $V^2$ 's notation and to examine closely the habits of  $V^1$ 's notators. They do not change the fact that the textual contents of  $V^2$ 's song collection are especially well-suited to placement in tandem with a secular chansonnier. Whether that placement reflects the initiative of the compiler or the inspiration of a later owner must be left (for now) to speculation.

The concurrence of Richart de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour* with trouvère lyrics is attested in other chansonniers than  $V^2$ . The prose work appears in the Adam de la Halle collection, *TrouvW* (F-Pn fr. 25566) and in *TrouvK* (F-Pn fr. 12786) where the first stanza of a notationless chanson immediately follows it, along with various romances with lyric inserts and a motet collection (lacking notation) all in the same hand.<sup>96</sup> It also appears in the same manuscript as the unnotated chansonnier *TrouvI*

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<sup>94</sup> I-Fl Plut. 29.1 fol. 438r.

<sup>95</sup> *Jure touz temps et chascun iour morir* (RS 1413, fol. 148r), modelled after *De fine Amor vient séance et beauté* on fol. 25r; *Quant diex ot forme l'omme a sa semblance* (RS 249, fol. 149r), modelled after *El entrant d'esté quant li tenz commence* (RS 620, fol. 115v); *La volentez dont mes cuers est raviz* (RS 1607, fol. 150r), modelled after *Se i'ai chanté sanz guerredon avoir* (RS 1789 fol. 112r); and *De fin cuer et daigie* (RS734 fol. 150v), modelled after *Ausi comme unicorne* (RS 2075+ fol. 15r).

<sup>96</sup> Segre, *Bestiaires*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv and xxxviii–xl. For lyric inserts in romances, see: Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 25–74; Emma Dillon, 'Unwriting Medieval Song', *New Literary History* 46 (2015), pp. 595–622 at pp. 613–18; Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 91–105; Maureen Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric*

(GB-Ob Douce 308) though in a different hand, just after the Adam de la Halle collection of monophonic songs, polyphony and dramatic pieces in chansonnier *W*, and in the final section of the manuscript AS 657, in a separate codicological layer to the chansonnier.<sup>97</sup> Even in sources of the bestiary that contain no chansons, there can be strong ties to the trouvère tradition: in one of the earliest illuminated sources of the bestiary (belonging to the private collection of Herbert Tenschert), the bestiary is decorated by a miniature of Saint Louis with Thibaut de Champagne (sporting the arms of Navarre), leading Xenia Muratova to conjecture that the bestiary itself was in some way connected with the marriage of Thibaut in 1255.<sup>98</sup> This compilational trend should be no surprise: Richard himself was a trouvère whose songs appear in (among other chansonniers) trouvère *A*, accompanied there by an author portrait. The nature of his bestiary, a superimposition of the postures and conventions of courtly love onto the more religiously-oriented allegorical bestiary, aligns well with the compilation of trouvère chansons, especially in cases where religious and secular material come together and influence one another. Seen as the work of a well-respected teacher, it harmonizes just as well with its lyric surroundings: courtly love song is often seen as pedagogic or

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*Insertions in French Narrative Fiction 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), *passim*; François Laurent, ‘Les insertions lyriques dans les romans en vers du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, Doctoral thesis, Université de Limoges (2007); and Anne Ibos-Augé, ‘Vernacular Song II: Romance’ in *Cambridge History of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 428–50.

<sup>97</sup> Segre, *Bestiaires*, pp. xlvii–li and lix–lx. See also Elizabeth Eva Leach’s work on the *Bestiaire*’s appearance in *I* in ‘Douce Chansonnier’, pp. 223–5. Leach discusses convergences between the bestiary and courtly lyric and she references the full list of manuscripts containing the bestiary found at [https://www.arlima.net/qt/richard\\_de\\_fournival.html#bes](https://www.arlima.net/qt/richard_de_fournival.html#bes) cited in *ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>98</sup> ‘Ne peut-on pas imaginer que Richard a créé son œuvre à l’intention du jeune couple royal ? Nous n’en savons rien.’ Xenia Muratova, ‘Un nouveau manuscrit du Bestiaire d’Amours’, in *Bestiaires médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles: Communications présentées au XV<sup>e</sup> colloque de la Société Internationale Renardienne, Louvain-la-Neuve, 19–22.8.2003* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d’études médiévales de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, 2005), pp. 265–81 at p. 280. Muratova’s detailed study of the dating and decoration of manuscripts of the bestiary unfortunately excludes *V*<sup>2</sup>.

exegetic in nature and the debate of the *Jeux-partis* may have significant ties to contemporary academic practice.<sup>99</sup>

The one element of  $V^2$  with no discernible relationship to  $V^1$  is the book that opens it, the only witness to the *Traité de quatre nécessaires*. This unedited work makes difficult reading, not least because of some evident scribal errors and sparse marks of textual division. Intriguingly, its opening offers a short notice, germane to any meditation on the nature of compilation in the Middle Ages:

S'avenir puet que cest ouvraigne ait grace d'estre en auctorité et receue que aucuns departiront .i. des quatre parties l'une de l'autre et feront de chascune sengle volume. Més se ensi le font, il mesprendront; car eles sont si acompli es relatives et meles l'une en l'autre que li entendement de l'une est esclariez par l'autre et se raporte joinz et liez ensemble a un ordre.<sup>100</sup>

The fact that such a warning was necessary argues for a widespread practice of dividing and circulating excerpts of such vernacular treatises, particularly those so conveniently divided into four parts as is this one.

This notice, however, refers to the treatise, not the whole fascicle. The construction of the booklet perhaps sheds some light on the subject: the final folio of the treaty (if we follow Aubrey or Epstien) is copied in a gathering that rightfully belongs to Richard's *Bestiaire*. This particularly sturdy folio (140) might have made sense as a guard for the bestiary in its unbound state. If we imagine that the scribe had already copied the bestiary and then arrived at the end of the treatise having surpassed the allotted number of gatherings by two columns, the idea to combine the two might

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<sup>99</sup> For a discussion of the intertextual refrain as a vernacular version of scholastic commentary, see Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2013), at pp. 36–79; Saltzstein also makes the connection between the clerical *quodlibet* and the *Jeux-partis* of Arras, where the preponderance of clerics may have resulted in *jongleurs* of more than usually high education (*ibid.*, pp. 81–3). The expansive membership of the *Carité* of Arras in the 13<sup>th</sup> century should caution us against assuming any cleric belonging to it was also a *jongleur*; it is clear that in Arras, performing artists made use of educated, latinate rhetoric to cement their status, as shown in Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 80–116.

<sup>100</sup> *Traité de quatre nécessaires*, fol. 120r col. b lines 24–35.

truly have been circumstantial: the only piece of blank parchment that came to hand happened to be incorporated into another volume.

We need not accept this circumstantial explanation. The bestiary has been considered as the crossroads between religious allegory and the courtly love.<sup>101</sup> It might also be considered for its didactic nature, Richard de Fournival being recognized for his mastery of pedagogy. In this light, the *Quatre necessaires* makes perfect sense as a neighbour to the bestiary. Its author, like Richard, is concerned with making scholarly, clerical concerns comprehensible in a lay, vernacular context. On this point, the prologue is explicit:

...et si ne disons nos pas que nos tant soutilment ne tant cleriaument voillons traitier de ces choses que aucuns n'en puisse bien plus dire ou miex[.] **Car nos faisons plus ceste oeuvre pour la laie gent** que pour autres[.] [Q]ue ne sont pas si entendant aucun *comme* li clerc.<sup>102</sup> [Emphasis added]

This work (like many vernacular works in prose of the time) may be understood as a kind of translation. Indeed, it is this theme that unites the three portions of *V*<sup>2</sup> more than any direct link in the subject matter. Aside from this loose resonance between the three, their unity is ensured by a series of tangential relationships rather than an overarching topic. A treaty on the states and attributes of man is followed by a bestiary. That bestiary, effectively an apology on the subject of courtly devotion, is followed by a group of songs devoted to Mary and Christ. Those songs, in turn, were once followed by a collection of the full range of courtly lyric genres, from pious to remarkably profane, from political to pastoral. These first and last elements of the compilation have no direct generic or thematic relation to each other, so that the

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<sup>101</sup> Yvan G. Lepage, ed., *L'Œuvre lyrique de Richard de Fournival*, Publications médiévales de l'Université d'Ottawa (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Editions, 1981); Bianciotto, *Bestiaire*, pp. 9–13; Christopher Lucken, 'Les manuscrits du *Bestiaire d'Amours de Richard de Fournival*', in Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Olivier Collet, eds., *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: 2 Le Moyen Âge central*, Texte, Codex, et Contexte VIII (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 113–38 at pp. 114–21, and Leach, 'Courtly Compilation', in Leach and Deeming, eds., *Medieval Song*, at pp. 223–5.

<sup>102</sup> Fol. 120r col. a lines 21–28.

current ordering obscures the logic of this progression. That logic is still discernible when the earlier ordering is considered, and it is strong enough to suggest that  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  were united with that logic in mind. The whole book is, to be sure, a composite manuscript. That does not mean it is a ‘binding accident...bound together for reasons of convenience alone’.<sup>103</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

The imbricated, composite nature of fr. 24406 does not allow a neat schematic breakdown into *gebruikseenheden* and *productieeenheden* of the type Kwakkel suggests. units. What have been described in this chapter are instead conceptual usage units and virtual production units. Both transcend the physical limits of the binding and include all ways makers, users, and interpreters of  $V$  have mentally and physically divided the codex. Although the distinction between production and reception is a dangerous one to insist on, there are some divisions and sutures that can be securely attributed to the expediencies of book-making. The production units of the manuscript are clear, and it is equally clear that the physical structure varies between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$ . The current binding of the manuscript makes that structure difficult to interpret and a definitive collation of  $V^2$  would only be achieved first by unstitching the manuscript. The gathering signatures inscribed in the manuscript conflict with each other as do the paginations, attesting to the fact that the manuscript’s current ordering is only one of perhaps several.

With respect to the topics of the various texts, the two halves of the manuscript are still more closely intertwined, the thematic ordering potentially as

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<sup>103</sup> Hanna, *Pursuing History*, p. 22.

complex as physical arrangement. Textual cross-references between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  are easy to discover, if reference by contrafaction is accepted as a legitimate link. That musical similarities do not support these cross-references is justification for largely excluding  $V^2$  from the musicological investigations to follow. It is not, however, proof that the manuscripts are combined by happenstance. By one reading, the core of the manuscript is the didactic message conveyed in the *Bestiaire* and the *chansons pieuses*. To these were then added (potentially late in the assembly) the *Traité* and finally the secular chansonnier. Why these sections were made, for whom, and who read them is the subject of the following chapter. As will soon become clear, the fact that several texts and collections are bound together does not mean they continue to be treated as a unit or to be imagined as such.



## The Deluxe Chansonnier:

### The Changing Reception of a Codicological Idea

#### 1. Inconsistency within *V<sup>l</sup>*: Changing Parameters, Changing Grade

##### 1.1 Shared Appearances between *V<sup>l</sup>* and *KNPX*

THE OPENING OF *V<sup>l</sup>* PRESENTS an image of the manuscript that immediately evokes the refined, deluxe chansonnier (see Plate 2.1). Sylvia Huot noticed common features that belong to a certain ‘type’ of chansonnier design, one shared by *KNP* and *X*, in which only the first author section is granted a miniature.<sup>104</sup> The unique miniature in *V<sup>l</sup>* (now damaged) echoes closely that found in the sources *K* and *N*, despite numerous differences in detail and execution between all three. *V<sup>l</sup>* stands apart for containing only three figures, the viellist and the crowned couple, omitting the encircling court audience of *K* and *N*. *V<sup>l</sup>* and *N*’s miniatures seem mirror images of each other, to the extent that the viellist is right-handed in *V<sup>l</sup>* and left-handed in *N*, while the frames are almost identical. *K*’s composition and framing differs from both. The decoration of the initial **A**, though stylistically different between the sources, is on a similar scale. The lettrines that begin subsequent songs in all three sources follow the typical formula of gold letter on a bed of red and blue decoration, with delicate detail added in white over the blue and red. For the smaller capitals that begin stanzas, *V<sup>l</sup>*’s

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<sup>104</sup> Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 74.



mours ma  
 fer commen  
 aier une chançon nouuele.  
 quele me uelt enseigner a  
 amer. la plus bele qh soit u  
 mont uiuant cest la bele au  
 cors gent cest cele dont ie chat  
 diex men doint tel nouuele q

soit amon talent. car menu

z souuent mes ciers pour

le sautele.

**N**ien me porroit auancier  
 ma douce dame bele cele mi  
 uouloit aidier a ceste chanso  
 nele. ie n'ang nule rienz tant  
 qh seulement z son afferement  
 qui mon cuer renouuele. amis  
 me lace. z prent. z fet lie z oi  
 ant. pour ce qua son maple.  
**U**ant fine amour me se  
 mont moue me plect z agree.  
 que cest la rienz en cest mont  
 que iai plus desirree. or la me  
 steut seruir ne men puis pl  
 temr z du tout oter. plus qua  
 rienz. qui soit nee. sele miset  
 languir z uois uis qua mo  
 rir. l'ame en sera dampnee.

**Q**ue la mieudie de cest mont  
 ne ma lamour donnee. que li  
 amoureux diront ci a fort des  
 tinee. l'ace puis ia uenir. que  
 ie sanz repentir. ma ioie z mo  
 plect. de li. quan tant amer. lo  
 dront sanz mentir. quaurai tot  
 mon plect. z ma ioie acheuee.

Plate 2.1 V's Opening, fr. 24406, fol. 1r

decorator outdid those of *K* and *N*, reproducing the same lettrine format on a smaller scale, in contrast to the simple ink initials of the other two. Everything seems to point to *V*<sup>l</sup> belonging to the same production milieu as *K* and *N*, or perhaps being a deliberate copy. Its production, on the surface, is equally careful and, if anything, more costly.

Yet certain differences betray that *V*<sup>l</sup> was designed by different producers and for a different purpose. First, the page was laid out according to a different house-style. *K* and *N* share with their cousins *P* and *X* a two-column ruling format that economizes on lines drawn: four vertical lines denote the edges of the writing block and of the central margin. Horizontal lines are then ruled with remarkable consistency of space between them. The upper and lower edges of the writing block are emphasized by extending the top two and bottom two horizontal lines into the margin, toward the spine of the book (these are missing from *P* and *X*). The rulings in Gatherings 1–2 of *V*<sup>l</sup> follow this format in general, but also add an extra vertical ruling just outside the edge of the writing block both on the outer and inner margins. These reinforcing lines are no accident: the prickings, visible at the bottom of each folio, give guidelines for spacing them relative to the margins. There are thus six prickings along the bottoms of the leaves, rather than the four that would be necessary for *K* and *N*'s ruling layout (prickings in the lower margins of *K* and *N* seem to have been excised during binding).

Although these reinforcing strokes, like the gilding of smaller capitals in *V*<sup>l</sup>, could be read as an attempt to outdo other sources in terms of careful design, they coincide with other aspects of ruling that betray sloppiness. On fol. 28r, the doubling of ruling lines arose from an initial slip of the hand, requiring a new attempt. Throughout the manuscript, the rulings for the text are uneven. In contrast to the

consistent horizontal intervals of *K* and *N*, those who drew rulings for *V*<sup>l</sup> let the size vary by about two millimetres, even within the same page. This sloppiness may be due to haste or difference in technique. In any event, it did little to differentiate *V*'s appearance from that of the other chansonniers. The text scribes of *K* and *N* had a relaxed attitude toward the ruled lines, so that, despite the even framework of the rulings, the spacing between text lines is occasionally irregular. That the *V*<sup>l</sup> text scribes were inconsistent in their spacing reflects pre-existing flaws in the ruling, and presumably prickings. Provided the rulings of *K* or *X*, *V* might have looked neater than either.

Another peculiarity of *V* is the lack of author attributions. *N* and *X* begin with an opening attribution of the songs that are to follow. In *N*'s case, the rubric reads: *Ce sont les chançons que li Rois thiebaut de Navarre fist*. *K*, like *N* and *X*, does at least provide rubrics for each song, inscribed (as in *N* and the more distant *M*) in a red circle. None of these attributions appear in the first two gatherings of *V*, and indeed the only attributions in the entire manuscript (on fols. 29r, 56r, and 72r) all appear to be later additions. Eduard Schwan argued that the omission of author names betrayed a lack of interest in 'literary history' on the part of the producers or patron. It is conceivable instead that rubrics were originally intended in *V*<sup>l</sup> but never supplied. The rubric hands of *K* and *N* are suitably distinct to suppose they were at least added in after the initial copying, evidently with a different pen (if not by a different scribe). Could this have been planned for *V*<sup>l</sup> but never executed? If the task was postponed until the first scribe's task was finished, it might have been difficult to rediscover the breaks between author sections. What is clear is that the text scribe of *V*<sup>l</sup> did not leave space for a larger decorated initial or a rubric within the text block, setting this source apart from all others organized by author section. If attributions were intended, they

must have been planned as marginal annotations, not as markers for major divisions in the text the way rubrication and lettrines do in *K* (p. 54), *N* (fol. 39r), and *X* (fol. 43v) or as rubrication does in *P* (fol. 29v).

## 1.2 The Change at fol. 17r: Flaws Under a Gilded Surface

In addition to general inconsistencies in the course of ruling and copying, there are inconsistencies between gatherings. Without any change in personnel, the overall aspect of the manuscript subtly shifts at Gathering 3. From the discussion so far, the assumption that *V'* was never intended to contain author divisions seems reasonably certain, given the lack of space for any rubrics or extra decoration. Yet changes in the production process after the first two gatherings leave open the possibility that Gatherings 3 and onwards constitute a new production unit. Could there have been a change in the planned design of the manuscript between the copying of these two sections? The shift in methods appears at fol. 17r, well before the first change in author. If the manuscript was originally imagined to be directly modelled after *K* and *N*, the plan must have changed before fol. 27v, the first song *K* and *N* attribute to Gace Brulé and thus the site of a large decorated initial and a rubric. Whatever directions the illuminator received when the gatherings were passed on remained in keeping with the echo of *K* and *N*; the scribe in the meantime had a new approach.

The change at fol. 17 occurs in several different layers of the manuscript's production and cannot be traced to the whim of a single scribe. Two aspects of that change relate directly to the notator: both the style of notation and the source of the melodies change at this point. Parts II and III of the dissertation will expand on what this shift entailed from the point of view of musical transmission and the

representation of music. From a codicological perspective, there is simply a general change in the formatting of the writing block, something seemingly unrelated to the notators' task. At this point the reinforcing vertical lines disappear, leaving only four rulings, as in *K* and *N*. Palaeographically, there is little to indicate a change of hand here, something that systematically coincides with an adjustment to the ruling in other professionally-produced vernacular manuscripts.<sup>105</sup> We must either assume that some gatherings and not others were delivered to the text scribe pre-ruled, or that the scribe's attitude shifted. The result is wider margins and the reduction of the overall width of the writing block by a centimetre (though the available writing-space remains the same). This reduction is matched in the vertical dimension by a compression of the height of the writing block by almost a centimetre compared to Gathering 2. All of these measurements had expanded slightly over the course of Gatherings 1 and 2, so that from a writing block hardly bigger than 23 by 15 centimetres on fol. 1, fol. 16 sported a writing block of more than 24 by 16 centimetres.

Corresponding to this expansion was the addition of one line of text on each page: the scribe went from writing 34 lines in Gathering 1 to 35 lines in Gathering 2. In Gathering 3, despite the contraction of available writing-space, the scribe maintained 35 lines of text, effectively forcing the spacing to become more compact. The extra line still fits easily: the inconsistency in ruling width in Gatherings 1–2 meant that some ruling-lines were already unnecessarily widely-spaced. The new formatting had a more noticable impact on the notator, who was obliged to give up consistent rastrum-drawn five-line staves (see the parallel dips in the staves, e.g. the

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<sup>105</sup> Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. 2 Appendix 2F, p. 154. The *V* scribes possibly did their own ruling but each in an unsystematic fashion.

first of fol. 3r and the second of fol. 12v column b) in favour of hand-drawn alternation between four and five lines. We will see the impact of the change in dimensions on the notators and ultimately the music in the following chapter.

*V*<sup>1</sup> never sees another adjustment to the writing block as abrupt as that after Gathering 2, but generally varies the size of rulings and writing block width. Up until fol. 65, the height of the writing block hovers between 23 and 24 centimeters, while the width remains roughly stable at around 15 centimeters. The number of staff-lines continues to alternate between 4 and 5 up until fol. 49, at which point Notator 1 cedes the work to Notator 2, who consistently employs 4-line staves regardless of the space allocated. Two gatherings later is the scribe change identified by McAlpine, Epstein and Aubrey. The change in scribe corresponds to another change in layout, though admittedly not a drastic one; it probably does indicate that the scribes ruled their own pages. Fol. 65 stands out from what preceded it thanks to the contrasting aspects of the two different hands. The writing block is once again compressed, for the first time to less than 23 centimetres. The bottom line of text expands this, however, as it is written below the bottom ruled line (which corresponds to the lowest line of the last staff). A more striking difference is between Scribe B's dry-point rulings and the solid grey marks of Scribe A's lead. Clearly each scribe used a different instrument to lay out the page and had a different lower limit for acceptable writing block size. What the scribes shared was a sense that precise replication of dimensions across folios and across gatherings was inessential.

### 1.3 *Dramatis personae*: The ‘At least two text hands’ of *V<sup>d</sup>*

Within the ebb and flow of formality in *V<sup>d</sup>*, it would be easy for an additional change to a new scribal hand to go unnoticed. Sudden changes in aspect can be deceptive. Nearing the end of Gathering 4, the script widens across the page, as if the scribe had been replaced by another copying in a much broader module (*Mainz ai joie que je ne seuil* fol. 32v col. b). In fact, the broadening probably reflects Scribe A’s inclination to finish the first strophe of the song as close as possible to the end of the gathering. There is a gradual transition in column a from compressed letter forms to the horizontal stretching of column b. Despite the attempt, the scribe still has five lines left to fill at the end of the page. The scribe elects to fill them, but in a compact form, as if desperate to squeeze in an entire stanza before the end of the gathering. Turning the page shows us why. The top of fol. 33r coincides with the start of the second stanza of the song, despite the reduplication on fol. 32v. It is plausible that Gathering 5 had already been begun before Gathering 4 was finished, potentially leaving an undesirable gap at the end of fol. 32v. Were it not for the gradual transition on column a, it would be very tempting to ascribe *Mainz ai joie* to a finishing scribe, brought in to complete a missing stanza. A talented copyist might have been able to mimic Scribe A convincingly enough to produce the entire transition of col. a as a segue to Gathering 5. If a different scribe actually did insert the second song on this page, we might suspect that the first two words of song 68, *Je ai esté lonc tens hors de païs* (RS fol. 30v col. b staff I) were inserted after the fact as well. It is just as plausible that Scribe A was capable of swinging between extremes of compactness or expansion.

Noticing the change of layout at fol. 17 and the variability of aspect makes it more relevant than ever to establish with some certainty whether the typical



assessment of only two scribes in *V*<sup>l</sup> is accurate. If there is a scribe change, we might notice how smoothly the transition is effected. If not, we will need to ascribe the scribe's flexibility regarding appearance to the informality of vernacular manuscripts like *V*. If changes in ruling simply reflect changes in scribe, there is plenty of reason to suspect one between Gatherings 2 and 3. A specialist of vernacular palaeography might be able to mine the manuscript for information with greater certainty and detail. All that can be accomplished here is a slight update of McAlpine's 1974 discussion of the two scribes' palaeographical traits. Numerous possibilities of which McAlpine could not have been aware, such as the use of finisher scribes and instances of interleaved scribe-hands, might undermine the traditional conclusion.<sup>106</sup> As seen above, she identifies fol. 65 as the point of scribal change; in a chart on page 10, she shows several salient differences between the text copied before and after that point, namely:

- i) the decoration of minuscule **d** with a hook by Scribe A but not Scribe B;
- the differentiation between two ductuses of **e** by Scribe B, but not Scribe A;
- ii) Scribe A's use of a **g** in the form of a figure 8;
- iii) the termination point of **o**, which for Scribe A is at the baseline, for Scribe B at the median line;
- iv) the right-ward extension of internal **r** in scribe A's usage, compared to scribe B's z-shaped **r**;
- v) the spur added to the left of long **s** by Scribe B; and
- vi) the extension of the bar of **t** in Scribe B's hand.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> See for diverse examples: Lila Yawn, 'Fast and Slow Books and Finisher Scribes: Discerning Patterns of Scribal Work in Italian Giant Bibles and *Moralia* Manuscripts', in Andreas Nievergelt, ed., *Scriptorium: Wesen, Funktion, Eigenheiten: Comité international de paléographie latine*, XVIII Kolloquium St Gallen 11–14 September, 2013 (Zurich: Beck Verlag, 2015), pp. 489–518; Malcolm P. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Hanna, *Pursuing History*, pp. 21–35.

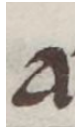
<sup>107</sup> McAlpine, 'Chansonier', p. 10.

The following section will question whether these changes take place at fol. 65 or before. After more than forty years, the hands of *V<sup>d</sup>* deserves renewed attention (any definite conclusions would need to be based on the observations of a specialist of old-French text hands, not a musicologist). The following brief sketch is intended only to suggest an avenue for future research, not to assert a new palaeographic evaluation. First, I provide evidence to question how consistent Scribes A and B are in adhering to the tendencies outlined above. Second, I will consider the possibility of further changes in text-hand, an idea suggested in parenthesis by Aubrey and never actively considered.<sup>108</sup>

The first amendment to McAlpine's table is the addition of an overlooked clue, the varying forms of minuscule **a**. Derolez's discussion of this letter-form in *formal textualis* offers aid here, at least as far as vocabulary is concerned. He draws attention to the alternation, already characteristic of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, between 'Kasten'-**a**, and **a** with a closed upper bow. While Derolez is distinguishing between careful calligraphical letter-forms that vary by period and area, the informal nature of *V<sup>d</sup>*'s vernacular *textualis* reduces the applicability of the palaeographer's conclusions. I use his terms strictly in their relation to ductus. The 'Kasten'-**a** is essentially a joined arch, formed by two minim strokes touching at top and bottom and bisected by a horizontal hairline (see Plates 2.2 and 2.3). Both scribes employ this shape. In another ductus, unique to Scribe A, the top compartment is barely present at all: it is no more than the approach to the vertical bar that comprises the right side of the letter (see Plate 2.2 i). This is essentially a minim stroke with an exaggerated serif. The rest of the letter comprises a c-stroke, beginning extremely high (almost as high as the right-

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<sup>108</sup> Aubrey, '4 French', at p. 857.

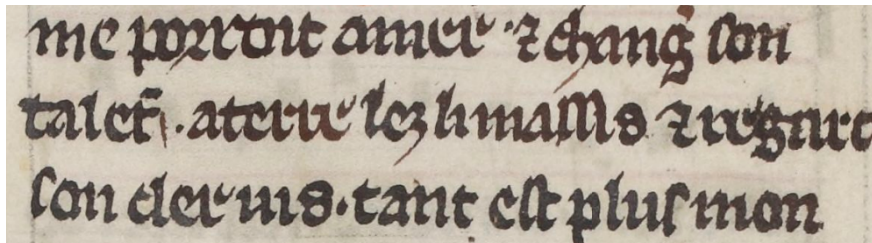


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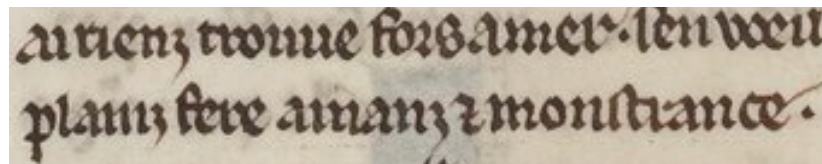


ii

**Plate 2.2  $V^1$  Scribe A, Variant a Forms:**  
i) fol. 63r col. b lines 4–6, ii) fol. 63r col. b line 2



i



ii

**Plate 2.3  $V^1$  Scribes A and B:**  
i) fol. 2r col. b lines 4–6 ii) fol. 87r col. b lines 33–4

hand minim). The entire concept of the letter-form is different from the ‘Kasten’-a. Scribe A employs both of these forms before and after the break at fol. 17.

Scribe A then eschews the form of **a** Derolez views as most typical of late 13<sup>th</sup>-century northern textualis, that with a closed upper compartment. By contrast, Scribe B employs this ductus frequently, alternating it occasionally with the ‘Kasten’-a. Although something rather like Scribe A’s single-compartment **a** sometimes appears in text copied by Scribe B, the different dimensions of the lower compartment demonstrate it to be merely an un-finished version of double-compartment **a** (see the first letter of Plate 2.3 ii).

The consistency with which the two scribes each adhere to their alternate ductus offers reassurance. Each employs variable techniques for certain letters, but these fall within a distinctly personal field of possibilities. In contrast, several of the

traits McAlpine points out are in fact of dubious consistency. For example, both scribes employ **d** with and without a hook at the beginning. For Scribe A, it is an elaborate rarity, used only to decorate the beginning of a column, as on fol. 50v (Plate 2.4 i). More curve than hook, the hairline extension belongs to a family of decorative strokes common throughout *V*<sup>l</sup>. However, Scribe B's inconsistency betrays a shared conception of the additional stroke as an ornament, not an integral element of the letter form. In the middle of a line, he or she produces a straight diagonal stroke to begin the letter (Plate 2.4 ii). A more acute hook than Scribe A's is employed when the **d** is more prominent, as in Plate 2.4 iii. Admittedly, this is much more common starting at fol. 65; yet the employment of this left-ward hook, like that of the spur sometimes found on final **e**, properly belongs to the discussion of aspect and the use of decorative hairline strokes in general, not to a letter-form chart.

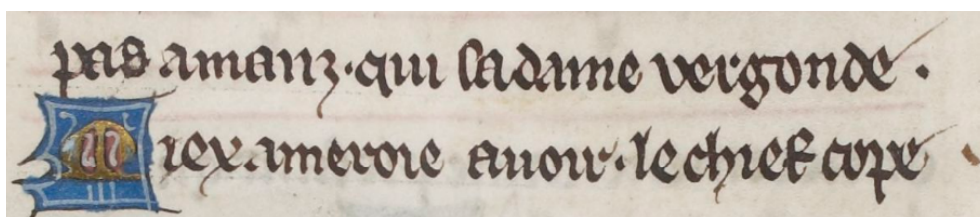
Both the decoration and the ductus of **e** is unstable in both scribes' work. Within the space of a single line on fol. 2r (Plate 2.5 i), Scribe A uses three different forms for interior **e**, one for *reson*, another for *bele*, and a variation of the latter in *dites*. The unusual shape of that on *bele* may be explained by the biting between **b** and **e** while in *dites* the final 2-shaped stroke fuses with the final **s**; however, the nature of Scribe A's **r** and **t** is such that they could potentially connect to the following **e** in precisely the same way. Word-final **e**'s are also inconsistent: while the scribe does often add an upward hair-line stroke to terminate the word, he or she just as often retains an inward curve instead. The full range can easily be witnessed in Plate 2.5 ii. Despite the differing appearance, though, the ductus is not especially changed: the first bowed stroke is identical in each case, while the second stroke is changed only with regard to the direction the pen is drawn at the beginning and how close to the first stroke the final stroke begins.



i) Scribe A fol. 50v col. b staff I; ii) Scribe B fol. 65r col. a lines 7–8  
iii) Scribe B fol. 65r col. a staff II



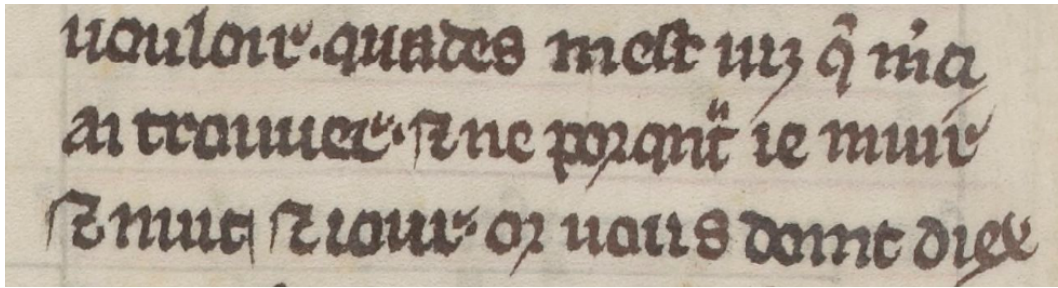
**i) fol. 2r col. a stanza II, lines 1–3 ii) fol. 64r col. a staves 3–4**



**Plate 2.6 *V*<sup>l</sup> Scribe B e at Line Ends: fol. 65r col. b lines 8–9**

Similar caveats apply to the letters **g**, **r**, and **s**: Scribe A can occasionally be found using forms McAlpine associates with Scribe B. Several of the most consistent differences McAlpine describes relate to decorative strokes and elements of style, not to ductus or conceptions of letter-forms. Despite certain caveats, renewed analysis does confirm McAlpine's text-change on different grounds. It is clear that the entire aspect of the script changes. Scribe A has a tendency toward very wide, rounded letters and a low degree of angularity. The second scribe embraces a spikier, more compact aspect; even if Scribe B's **o**'s are far from strict hexagons, they are clearly more horizontally compressed than Scribe A's near-circles (McAlpine's assessment of the termination point of **o**, where it can be confirmed, does appear to be accurate, as is her evaluation of the ratio between the height and cross-bar of **t**). The ductus of the letter **a** is also extremely revealing, as it confirms not only that there is a scribe-change at fol. 65, but that the hand is consistent before and after this point.

Analysing differences and similarities between the two scribes is difficult primarily because of their inconsistency. McAlpine is right in noting that these letter-forms lack the careful precision that characterises varieties of *textualis formata*, as the casual treatment of heads and feet of minim strokes demonstrates. Scribe B's aspect is slightly more formal than Scribe A's, thanks to the neat angles at the top of minims and the delicate curve on the top bouts of **a**'s, but this formality, too, is inconsistent. Most confusing of all are the decorative strokes and extenders that appear intermittently throughout the manuscript. On some folios, they appear at almost every



**Plate 2.7 Hairline Extensions by  $V^1$  Scribe A**  
**fol. 2v col. b lines 4–6**

opportunity (see Plate 2.8). Most revealing are the strokes, on the bottoms of **g**, 2-shaped **r**, **x**, **z**, and (rarely) **h**, that begin by trending down and leftward and terminate with a curve back toward the right. These below-baseline extensions (unlike the vertical hairlines decorating final **t** and the Tironian note) are absent in  $V^2$ , perhaps reflecting the relative chronology of the scribes of the two codices. They are localized to certain areas in  $V^1$ , it seems, as the decorative elements on the same letters on other folios are much more staid, even in the same gathering. After fol. 17, the same decorative markings reappear in a more-or-less exaggerated fashion. And even in Scribe B's work they continue, though the second hand shows a marked preference for rightward hooks at the bottom of **h**, **x**, and abbreviated *con-* while also introducing slight scrolls at the top of long **s** and spurs at the top of **z** and 2-shaped **r** (see Plate 2.9).



seroient vers moi dolent  
**D**ame ou touz mes bñcatent  
 sachiez qñ uout puis veoir  
 nus na si ioieus torment  
**C**hanter mesteut que ne  
 men puis temr. z si nai ie for  
 ennu z poñnce. mel tant a  
 res se fet bon reñour. quen se  
 re duet. nus du mont. ne la  
 vance. je ne chant pas qñ  
 qui soit amez. met qñ deshoiz  
 penliz z elgarez que ie nai  
 pas de bñ mule esperance aiz  
 au touz ioiz a parole menez

**M**e laus di bñ vñe riez lūz  
 faillir. qñ amour a eür z  
 grant cheance. se ie del me pe  
 uille ptir. mēx me venist qñ  
 sires de fiance. qñ ai ie dit qñ  
 desesperez. mēx amz moir re  
 cordant les biautez. z son gñt  
 senz z la douce acōmance qñ  
 sires de tout le mont clamez  
**L**anauz. bñ iel lai a elacēt  
 qu'amour me let z ma dame  
 moubhe selt il resont qui a am  
 entent. qñ ne dōit mort ne  
 poñne ne hāchue. pñne me lai a  
 ma dame donnez. amours le uelt  
 z qñ il est les grez. ou ie mourai  
 ou ie raurai mame ou ma uie  
 nert mie ma lantez.  
**L**i feniz qñert la bulche z le  
 sarment. en quoi il sāt z gete  
 fors de uie. amli qñ ie ma  
 mort z mon torment. qñ la ie  
 vi se pñez ne mare. diez tant  
 me si si uours lanauzeux. dōt  
 iaurai pñt tant de maux endu  
 rez. li souuemet me fet moir  
 deñue z li deshel. z la gramz uo  
 lentez.  
**M**out est amors de muellex  
 pñor. qui bñ z mal fet tant qñ  
 li agree. moi fet ele trop lon  
 guement. doulou. selon me  
 dist que ien oit ma penñce. met  
 m. i. cuer amz tiez ne si trou  
 nez. touz me dist amz amz

Plate 2.8  
 V<sup>1</sup> Scribe A Hairline Extensions, fol. 11v



**D**ieu dame me prie de chanter.  
 A est bien dionz. que ie face chanton.  
 Je ne men sai ne ne puis deporter.  
 ne nai poir de moi. le par lui non.  
 Ele amon cuer. que ia nen quier oit.  
 Et lai de uoir qui m' trest le mal non.  
 Or le donno dieu adroit port armer.  
 Car il sest mis en mer. sanz auiron.  
**E**reus et sage ie ne vous os conter. la  
 grant dolour. q'ia. sen chantant non.  
 Et sachez bñ ia nen oiez parler. Car ie  
 m'voir m'le droit selon. j'ang m'ex aill  
 souffrir et endurer. les tres douz maus  
 sanz auoir guetison. que d'une autre  
 qñ quen puet demander. ce sachez  
 bñ. home. et ele. au douz non.  
**E**cceste amour. qui tant me fet pen  
 ie ne voi pas gien p'ussé partir. Car  
 ie m'voir selon. de lechui. ne n'est pas.

66  
 191.  
 dionz. que ien doie p'ur. mes foibles.  
 fer souvent cuer penser. en si haut  
 len. qui m' puet auerir. et fine amor  
 fine doit pas gien. Cens qui pament  
 tous dis. de lui servir.

**N**onques amis ot iore pour amie.  
 ie lai de uoir. ie n' doi pas faillir. Car  
 nus fors moi ne poroit endurer. les  
 grantz trauais. que iai pour li servir.  
 Adon plest me fet plaindre et pleurer.  
 Et sanz dormir. veillier. et suprier. mes  
 itant fu amor reconforter. que nuit  
 et iour. en pleurant la remir.

**E**ne me sai ne ne puis deporter.  
 de vous servir. biaux cuers etierent  
 et qñ ie plus vous donnerai crier lors  
 vous trunz et cruel. si durement. q'ia  
 amor ne ferez. biau semblant. sanz le  
 fetes autrui por moi greuer. mes qñ  
 vostre ceul m' daigne regarder. et ie  
 remir. le vostre biau cors gent. tant.  
 au re hors. de poine et de torment.

**E**cce damours m' destraint et  
 m'estoie. en sa prison etient si fier  
 ment. quele ne deusse amon na au  
 trunz. ne retenu. ne me deust lige

Plate 2.9  
 V<sup>1</sup> Scribe B Hairline Extensions, fol. 66r

## 2. Supporting Cast: The Decorators, the Two Notators, and the Several Correctors of $V^1$

### 2.1 The Illuminators and Rubrics and Notes to Illuminators

Markings and signs to or by the illuminator show that the decoration of the manuscript was planned and coordinated as a continuous process, from text to lettrines. The simplest are small plus signs that appear in the bottom or outer margins of some folios. These consistently indicate the number of lettrines required on each column, though they are occasionally absent even where lettrines have been supplied (presumably they have been cut away at the time of binding). They persist past the scribe change at fol. 65 and they are indicated only for the large lettrines that begin each song, not for the opening of stanzas. This type of marking could have allowed an illuminator to flip through the manuscript quickly to see precisely where to begin work. Yet it seems unlikely that was the purpose of these particular markings: the musical notation (and the accompanying red staff-lines) stand out on the page much more than a cross-mark. Except in ambiguous cases such as that on fol. 13r, where the beginning of a chanson immediately follows the musical notation that ends the *lai*, the need for larger lettrines would have been obvious. Furthermore, both large and small lettrines require the same coloured inks and gold leaf. It would make more sense to work through each folio systematically filling in each capital in sequence than to pick out the larger lettrines. The markings might be equally useful for establishing a tally of the number of large lettrines completed, likely a necessity for calculating the artist's payment (in Chapter 1, we saw that  $V^2$  contains no such signals to illuminators, even on folios where large plain-ink initials are supplied).

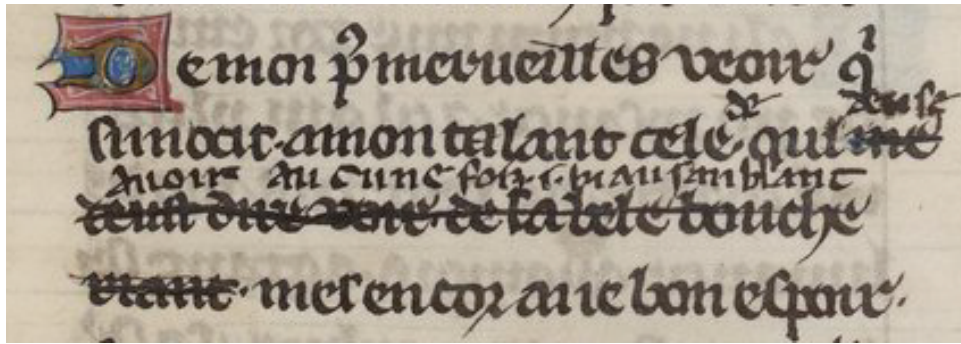
The chansonnier does contain markings that conveyed information to the decorator, in the form of detached minuscule letters providing the correct initial to be illuminated. Many such letters must have been over-written by the lettrines themselves; some are still visible as they were placed quite far outside of the writing-block in order to differentiate themselves from the text. On fol. 3v, a **c** appears in the central margin, indicating that the second letter of the line, not the first, requires decoration. On fol. 5v, several more such letters stand in the left margin, just next to illuminated versions. The way these letters are drawn contrasts to the style of the text itself: the forms are extremely thin, as if drawn with the corner of the nib. The letter **i** and the last minim stroke of **m** is exaggerated, extending below the baseline. The ductus of the **c** on fol. 3v does evoke the style of the text scribe, as does the left-ward extension of the bottom horizontal stroke of the **p** on fol. 20r. These letters continue sporadically even once Scribe B takes over: on fol. 66v, the smaller lettrines all but cover a tiny miniscule **b** and an **m** that closely resemble those of fol. 5. The **e** in column a of fol. 74r is conceived very differently from the **c** on fol. 3. The most likely hypothesis *a priori* is that each scribe inscribed these concise messages to the illuminator, using the corner of the pen in order to distinguish them from the body of the text. Yet there is no shortage of likely candidates who might have inserted these markings after initial copying was completed.

## 2.2 Corrections and Annotations

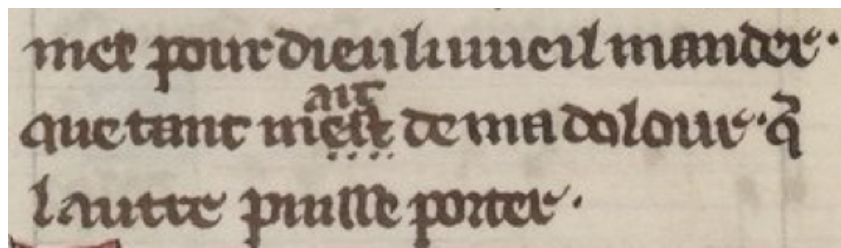
The proof-reading, correction, and marginal annotation of *V* began during its copying and continued into the modern era. Both scribes were frequently obliged to correct their own work, through deletion and replacement or through interlinear or marginal insertion. Although some of these corrective insertions are written using necessarily smaller letters than those of the main text, they clearly match the hands of the respective scribes. After copying, the gatherings must have been proof-read by some kind of copy-editor, possibly several.<sup>109</sup> These individuals made further corrections, inserted in different script from that of the text scribes and using different markings to delete letters. For example, on fol. 41r column a lines 25–27, someone other than Scribe A (henceforth, Editor 1) has crossed out *qui me deust voir dire de sa bele bouche riant* and inserted above it *(de) qui (deuse avoir aucune foiz .i. biau sanblant)*, retaining only the *qui* from the original clause. On column b of the same page (line 33), Scribe A has made his or her own correction, replacing *m'est* with *m'ait*. This is indicated by sublinear dots and an insertion above the line (Plate 2.10 ii).

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<sup>109</sup> The Rouses outline the system of self-identifying correctors marks used in rental pecia in their *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 87–8, 176 and discover the same system applied in some professionally produced presentation manuscripts, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 108, 112–13, 160; they hypothesize the *libraires* themselves might have undertaken corrections in some cases, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 120. On evident review and correction by a vernacular scribe after the fact, see also Albert Henry, ed., *Les Œuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 5 vols., vols. 1–3 (Bruges 1951–56), vols. 4, 5.1, and 5.2 (Brussels 1963–71), vol. 1, p. 114. The title *corrigueur* is documented in Paris by the end of the 14th century: Patrick M. de Winter, 'Copistes, éditeurs et enlumineurs de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: la production à Paris de manuscrits à miniatures' in *Actes du 100<sup>e</sup> congrès national des sociétés savantes* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques 1978), pp. 172–98, cited in Busby, *Codex*, vol. 1, p. 31. Busby has identified four correcting hands 'more or less contemporary with the two principal scribes' in the manuscript *I* (fr. 2943) of Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval*, *ibid.*, p. 109. In Busby's view, the correctors were working to transform a text taken from dictation into a 'definitive text' from which to make saleable copies, *ibid.*, p. 119. His examples from Bodmer 11 deal instead with "'post-production" activities'; Busby presents the Bodmer manuscript as 'a witness to what might be called "medieval philology"', *ibid.*, pp. 121–5, at p. 121.



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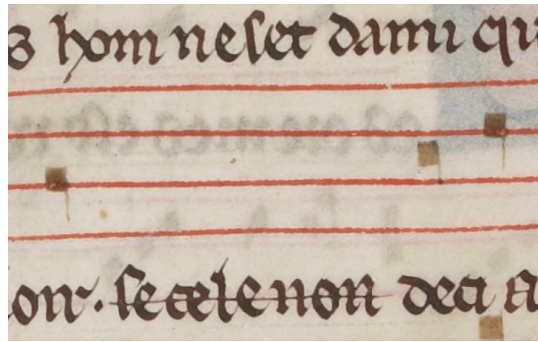


ii

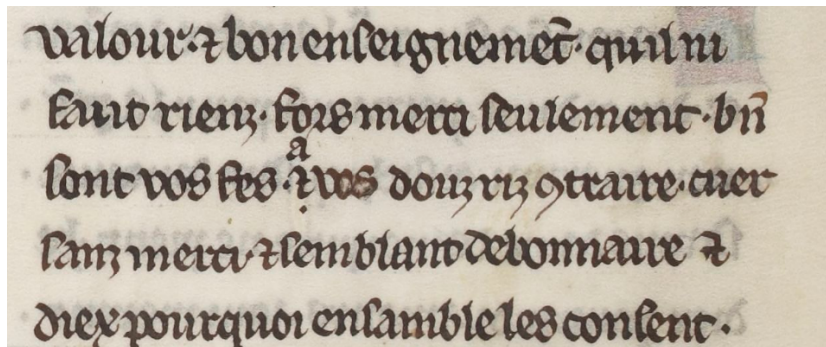
**Plate 2.10 Corrections to *V*<sup>l</sup> Scribe A:  
i) Editor 1 fol. 41r col. a; ii) Self-Correction fol. 41r col. b**

The very dark ink of Editor 1 strikes out other words and inserts other replacements within songs copied by Scribe A. Yet though this manner of deletion is used to amend Scribe B's work as well, it does not appear to be done by the same vigorous hand: the faint horizontal line through the words *se cele non* seems a world away from the examples above (Plate 2.11). Scribe B, like Scribe A is also sometimes obliged to make corrections, using sublinear dots when he or she does so. The inserted **a** in Plate 2.11 ii), with its neatly tucked upper bow, is a typical example of Scribe B's letterform. In contrast, another hand (that I will tentatively label Editor 2), strikes out letters and words, replacing them with much smaller writing than that found anywhere in the main text, or in the corrections to Scribe A's work. In Plate 2.14, the word *l'ame* is struck out to be replaced by the word *cuer* in a faint, miniature hand.

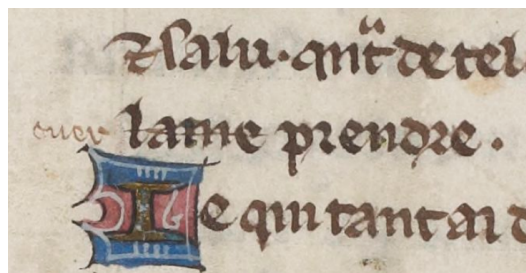




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**Plate 2.11 Corrections to *V*<sup>l</sup> Scribe B:**

- i) fol. 96v col. a staff II; ii) Self-Correction fol. 67v col. b lines 23–6;
- iii) Editor 2's Correction *V* col. fol. 113r col. b line 13

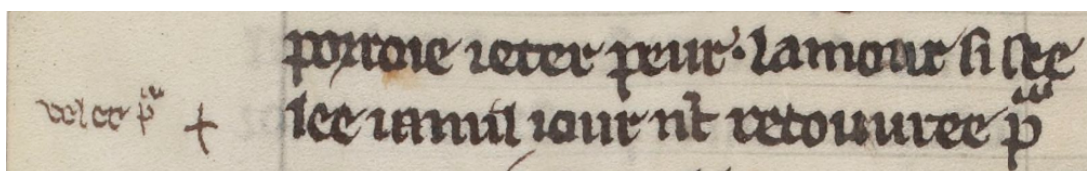
There is not always such a neat correlation between the appearance of the correcting hand and the type of sign used to delete the original error. Some corrections by Scribe A include deletions effected by crossing letters out, as on fol. 6r col. a. At the end of the tenth line, the scribe initially ran on into the next stanza and was therefore obliged to repeat the word *mes*, copying it again with space for a lettrine at the beginning of line 11. Either Scribe A or a more fastidious proof-reader

has struck out the first *mes*. Elsewhere, correctors insert replacements without signalling a deletion in the text at all. On fol. 63v, a small hand (not unlike Editor 2) substitutes *velee par* for *recouvree par* in column a line 6 (Plate 2.12 i). And a few folios later, a similar hand deletes *vous* using sublinear dots and replaces it with *miex* (Plate 2.12 ii). Such cautionary examples abound and prevent any certainty when attempting to attribute a given correction. Barring a very eclectic writing style on the scribes' part, it is certain that *V'* was corrected and annotated by at least two hands in addition to those of the scribes. Many changes were certainly made by the scribes themselves, and Scribe B may have had a hand in some of the changes in Scribe A's songs. In contrast to some of the later marginal annotations to be considered below, the correctors' manner of writing is entirely consistent with that of the scribes. While the aspect is altered due to the necessarily cramped nature of the script, their ductus reflects the same reliance on minim strokes, the same angularity in the curves of *c*, *e* and *o*, and (with no obvious exceptions) the same letterforms. Their orthography, too, is uniformly harmonious with that of the scribes.

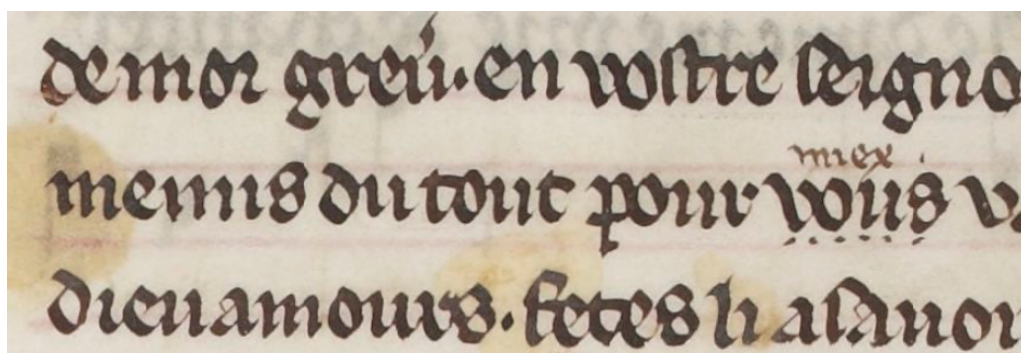
The nature of these corrections is revealing. Some completely rephrase a verse in order to remove a single hyper-metrical syllable, or fill a hypo-metrical line. Others are concerned with meaning, as in the example of *biau semblant* replacing *bouche riant*. The editor simply believed the text needed improvement, or perhaps wanted to bring it into line with a particular exemplar. This level of proof-reading certainly does support McAlpine's claim that the books producers took their task seriously.<sup>110</sup> We can safely rule out the hypothesis that the book was produced for the semi-illiterate: the scribes took care that their copying should be correct and later a third and fourth pair of eyes were enlisted to the same purpose. These proofreaders may even have

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<sup>110</sup> McAlpine, 'Chansonnier', p. 64.



i



ii

**Plate 2.12 Editor 2's (?) Corrections to *V*<sup>1</sup> Scribes A and B:  
i) fol. 63v col. a lines 5–6; ii) fol. 66v col. b lines 13–15**

checked the words against a different exemplar. Whether these hands worked on the manuscript prior to its delivery to the purchaser or belonged to the owners themselves makes no difference. The manuscript's producers (in this case, also readers in the literal sense of the word) were mindful of accuracy and appropriate wording. Demonstrating that the music scribes were as meticulous, a more difficult task, will be the subject of Part III of this dissertation.

Almost as frequent as corrections are the attributive insertions that appear in the margins and between the lines of *V*. They belong (almost without exception) to periods subsequent to the manuscript's first copying and are far from offering a parallel to the rubrication and miniatures of other chansonniers, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Only a handful of marginalia could reasonably be attributed to scribes or proofreaders, as the majority are in modern cursive and reflect the same type of bibliographical enterprise that prompted Claude Fauchet's annotations in *L* and



Châtre de Cangé's marking of variants in *O*.<sup>111</sup> At the same time, these first attributions are already far removed from the grand attributive rubrications of other sources. Presumably, we owe them to a productive (or intrusive) user of the manuscript rather than to one of its early designers. The fact that it continues through *V*<sup>2</sup> is only weak evidence for its early combination with *V*<sup>1</sup>.

One series of marginal insertions extends through the entire manuscript, forming an inobtrusive note on contents, hidden in the lower margins of a few folios. This appears first on fol. 119v, concluding *V*<sup>1</sup> with the inscription *Li moins* [?] *des chançons de navarre*. The general attribution of secular chansons to Thibaut de Champagne was frequent; many explicits and other rubrics in the chansonniers give Thibaut's name as a stand-in for the generic category of trouvères. *TrouvR* (F-Pn fr. 1591), a miscellaneous song collection if ever there was one, concludes with the rubric *Explicit les chansons . au Roy . de navarre . Et as autres princes*.<sup>112</sup> This marginal hand that ends *V*<sup>1</sup> continues in *V*<sup>2</sup>. On fol. 140v, a similarly-placed inscription notes the end *Du trestié des .iiii. necesaires*. Finally, at the very bottom of fol. 155, a fragment of the explicit of the *chançons nostre dame* is just visible. Whoever inserted these notes was interested not simply in marking the ends of pieces or sections, but in clarifying how the manuscript fitted together. On fol. 147v, a page before the larger *Explicit* in the main hand, the same diminutive script supplies *vii dou bestiaire*, thus giving the number of folios the work has filled up to this point. Perhaps this was simply a solution to the problem posed by having the bestiary end on the same page where the song collection begins: the clear explicit in the text renders any

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<sup>111</sup> Claude Fauchet (1530–1602) and Jean-Pierre Imbert Châtre de Cangé (d. 1746), Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies in the Hands of *Ancien Regime* Bibliophiles', in Barbara Helen Haggh, ed., *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris: Minerve, 2001), pp. 17–34 at pp. 17–21, 28 and 33; see also pp. 29–32 for the bibliographic activities of Pierre de Clairambault (1651–1740) and his circle; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, p. 2 and 'The Changing Song', at pp. 52–3, 62–4.

<sup>112</sup> R: fol. 184v.

additional annotation pointless for navigational purposes. Alternatively, the markings are there to ensure that irregularities of gathering structure do not result in mis-ordering. Fol. 140 falls squarely outside the first gathering; marking it as the end of the *Traitié des quatre nécessaires* confirms its placement just after a sesternion. Marking fol. 147v as the seventh folio of the bestiary confirms its placement just before a quinternion. This information would have been most useful when  $V^2$  still comprised unbound gatherings, perhaps just before it was bound together with  $V^1$ .

Within  $V^1$ , only one attribution of a specific song appears in a medieval hand. This is on fol. 56r for song 131, *Je ne suis pas esbahiz pour yver* (RS 1538) in exceptionally small letters in the right margin, truncated when the manuscript was bound. The attribution is to *pierres de la ch...*, though the same song is marked with the name *Perrin d'Angicourt* in *TrouvC* (CH-BEsu 389, fol. 99r). No other attributions of this type appear in the manuscript, nor do any of the other marginal notes share this scribe's distinctive *e*'s. The annotation is probably better interpreted as a sign of use than the residue of the production process. In contrast to the (comparatively) systematic attributions of later periods, an early reader, pen in hand, simply recognized this particular song.

### 2.3 The at-least-two Notators of $V^1$

The change between notators at fol. 49 seems obvious: contrast in note and clef shapes and ink colour leaps off the page. The difference between the two need hardly be questioned. The urgent question is not whether there are definitely two different notators, but whether there are in fact more than two. If there is a question of changing production and changing scribes at fol. 17, why not also a change in

notator? In fact, there is a distinct shift in his or her use of symbols in the third gathering of the manuscript, the implications of which can only be explored fully in the context of a discussion of notational practice in *trouvère* chansonniers. Establishing the ductus and note-forms of the music notators of this manuscript here supports subsequent analysis of their graphical preferences and their habits in presenting music. The following description reinforces McAlpine's identification of exactly two music notators and confirms that Notator 1 continued unaided until fol. 49. To that end, I expand the range of evidence considered; McAlpine's account of the different note-forms employed by the notators is inadequate, as the notators are inconsistent within their own copying. Examining note-shapes alone risks mistakenly identifying an army of notators, as the requirements of the songs and the adaptation of the scribes results in an ever-expanding palette of notational symbols. It is not the type of ligature used, but the way those ligatures are formed that betrays the individual music hands. The same holds for staves: it is likely the notators drew their own staves, as attested by the consistency of four-line staves beginning at fol. 49. This did not prevent Notator 1 from vacillating between 4- and 5-line staves starting at Gathering 3.

The switch between notators occurs between Gatherings 6 and 7, in the middle of song no. 114.<sup>113</sup> Notator 2 employs a different ink which gives the ligatures a watery impression on the page. The note-heads suddenly become much smaller, lighter, and closer to square-shaped.<sup>114</sup> In contrast to Notator 2's exact quadrilaterals, Notator 1's note-heads seem almost curvy (Plate 2.14). They are traced with a

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<sup>113</sup> Notator 1: fol. 48v; Notator 2: fol. 49r.

<sup>114</sup> Stemmed note by Notator 2: fol. 50r.

clockwise motion, starting with the pen at a significant angle from the vertical.<sup>115</sup> In some cases, Notator 1 appears to have stopped the pen in the middle of the note-head to adjust the angle.<sup>116</sup> Notator 1's ductus and the angle of his or her pen often causes stems to cross through note-heads, particularly when the stems are on the left side of the note.<sup>117</sup> Notator 2 is generally better at estimating the length and direction of stems. This is partly because he or she keeps vertical strokes very nearly perpendicular to the staff, rather leaning to the left than to the right.<sup>118</sup> Eleanor Giraud's dissertation on notated liturgical books produced for the Dominican order in Paris establishes a collection of reliable rules of thumb for the effective comparison of music scribes. One of the most useful is the comparison of F-clefs. This sign is used infrequently enough that notators have individual approaches to producing it, but frequently enough that they adhere consistently to their own ductus.<sup>119</sup> This proves particularly useful in comparing *V'*'s notators. Notator 1 constructs the F-clef in only three strokes, while Notator 2 routinely uses four (Plates 2.13 and 2.14).<sup>120</sup> Examining C-clefs is less useful, but it does serve to confirm what the F-clefs already clearly show. The two component shapes in Notator 1's C-clefs are connected almost without exception.<sup>121</sup> By contrast, Notator 2 usually draws two strokes without connecting them.<sup>122</sup> The following section argues that these attributes of Notator 1 remain consistent throughout fols. 1–48. Despite the internal changes in formatting and style,

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<sup>115</sup> Curved stemmed note by Notator 1: fol. 47v.

<sup>116</sup> Stemmed note by Notator 1: fol. 47v col. b.

<sup>117</sup> Ascending binaria by Notator 1: fol. 4r col. a.

<sup>118</sup> Ascending binariae by Notator 2: fol. 58r col. a.

<sup>119</sup> Eleanor Giraud, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris', Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge (2014), p. 216.

<sup>120</sup> F-clef by Notator 1: fol. 1r col. a; F-clef by Notator 2: fol. 94r col. a.

<sup>121</sup> C-clef by Notator 1: fol. 5v.

<sup>122</sup> C-clef by Notator 2: fol. 6r.



Plate 2.13  
Clefs by  $V^1$  Notator 1, fol. 18v

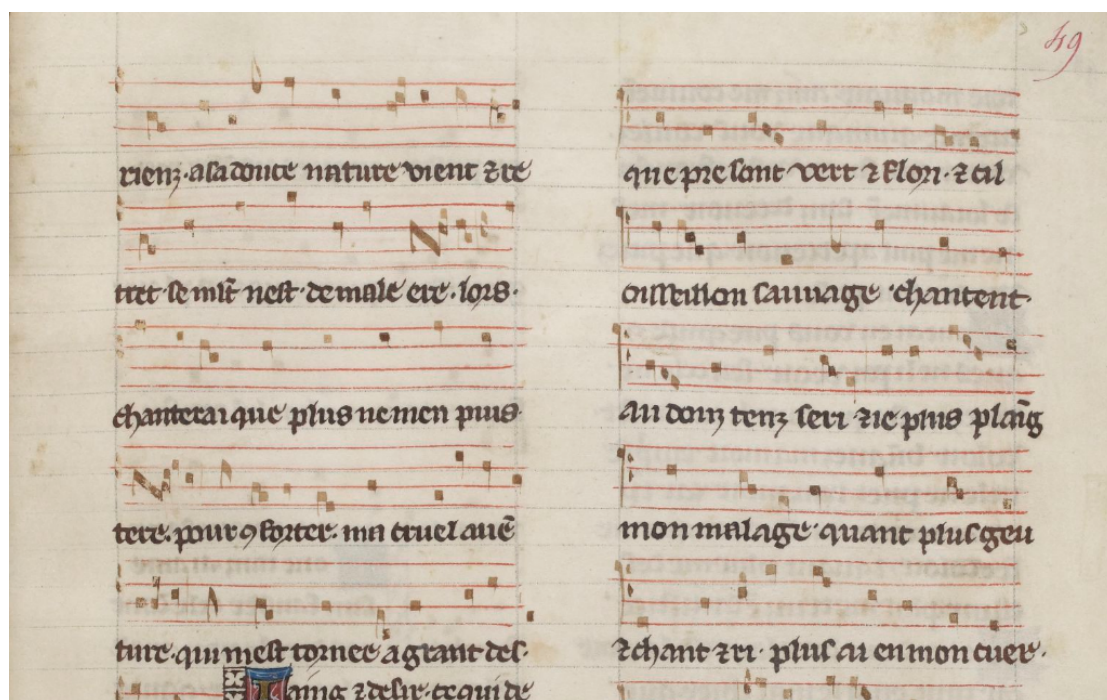


Plate 2.14  
Clefs by  $V^1$  Notator 2, fol. 49r

Gatherings 1–6 are copied by a single notator. Each of the attributes noted above in comparing Notator 1 to Notator 2 is now compared in and after Gathering 3.



i



ii

**Plate 2.15 Noteshapes by  $V^I$  Notator 1 Before and After fol. 17:  
i) fol. 14r col. a staff I; ii) fol. 23r col. a staff II**

The counter-clockwise motion of Notator 1's pen in drawing square noteshapes obtains both before and after fol. 17 (Plate 2.15).<sup>123</sup> Notator 1's method of drawing F-clefs, as before, starts with the pen about 70 degrees from the horizontal. The angle of the pen remains constant as the direction of the slope turns toward the vertical, or occasionally turns counter-clockwise in order to taper the vertical stroke. This single stroke is supplemented by two small rhombs, the top of which is usually bigger (Plate 2.16).<sup>124</sup>

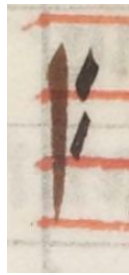
<sup>123</sup> Stemless notes by Notator 1, fol. 23r col. a staff II, and fol. 25v col. a staff VI.

<sup>124</sup> These clefs are easily compared across Notator 1's work; some examples appear in fol. 18v col. b and 24r col. a.





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iii



iv

**Plate 2.16 F-Clefs by  $V^1$  Notator 1:**  
 i) fol. 3v col. b staff I; ii) fol. 24r col. a staff II;  
 iii) fol. 3v col a staff V; iv) fol. 18v col. b staff III; v) fol. 20v



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ii



iii

**Plate 2.17 C-Clefs by  $V^1$  Notator 1:**  
 i) fol. 4r col. a staff VII; ii) fol. 48r col. b staff I; iii) fol. 48r col. b staff II

Even when copying C-clefs, Notator 1's ductus and symbol-shape remains consistent (though admittedly even between notators, differences in C-clefs can be subtle). Notator 1 forms them using two connected strokes. The top stroke is a careful rhomb shape while the bottom stroke is essentially a square. A downward hairline approach stroke connects this bottom stroke to the left edge of the top stroke (Plate 2.17).<sup>125</sup> The relationship between the hairline and bottom stroke varies, even within the same song: in some cases, the bottom stroke is rectilinear and forms a strict angle with the hairline stroke.<sup>126</sup> In others, the two merge to form a scooping shape (Plates

<sup>125</sup> C-clef by Notator 1, Gathering 3: fol. 20v.

<sup>126</sup> C-clefs by notator 1, Gathering 6: fol. 48r.

2.17 ii–iii).<sup>127</sup> The top stroke often curves back to the left slightly in anticipation the beginning of the downward approach-stroke to the bottom component, as in Plate 2.17 ii.<sup>128</sup> The 20-degree pen angle is consistent for clefs and rhombs, though sometimes l.-h. stems are drawn using this angle as well. The bottom of the note often curves in square note-heads.

Notator 1's method of writing binariae and descending ternariae often results in irregular shapes. In the case of ascending binariae, the Notator's nib-size and tendency to place notes in the centre of the spaces results in the notes becoming fused. The first gathering offers the best example on fol. 7r col. b staff VIII.<sup>129</sup> Notator 1 narrowly avoids another instance on fol. 22r col. b staff II and it occurs again on fol. 28v col. b staff II.<sup>130</sup> Finally, in ligatures where the notator must place the stem on the left-hand side of the note, Notator 1's habit of drawing the note-head over the stem results in mismatches in angle and length between the two components. When writing stair-shaped ligatures on fol. 17r col. a, the notator has misjudged how long the stems needed to be and where they needed to begin; the same occurrence may be found on fol. 28v.<sup>131</sup> The result are stems that pass through the note head (and occasionally poke out on the other side), instead of being flush with its left edge.

V's music is free of the frequent deletion and recopying by proofing hands that typifies the texts; the notators corrected (or failed to correct) as they wrote, as Part II will show. One stray mark, however, does demonstrate that a musically minded reader leafed through the book considerably later than the original notation of the volume. At the midline of the text in staff VIII of fol. 32v col. b appears a semi-minim, carefully

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<sup>127</sup> C-clefs by Notator 1, Gathering 1: fol. 2r.

<sup>128</sup> C-clef by Notator 1, Gathering 4: fol. 25r.

<sup>129</sup> Ascending binaria by Notator 1, Gathering 1: fol. 7r.

<sup>130</sup> Ascending binaria by Notator 1, Gathering 3: fol. 22r; Gathering 4: fol. 28v.

<sup>131</sup> Descending ternaria by Notator 1, Gathering 3: fol. 17r; Gathering 4: fol. 28v.



drawn but, due to its small size, easily mistaken for a diacritical mark.<sup>132</sup> Whoever inserted the mark seems to have wished to specify the length of the note over *mi*, presumably using the shortest available note-value to avoid ambiguity in the absence of an *ars nova* context.

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<sup>132</sup> Apparent semiminim, fol. 32v col. b staff VIII.

### 3. Marks of Ownership: Connecting the Manuscript to Historical

#### Names

#### 3.1 Arms from the Somme

The two coats of arms that sit below the miniature on fol. 1 recto have been left as a dead end since they were first described in print by Henri Omont.<sup>133</sup> Identifying these particular arms with any certainty poses an incredible challenge, as the charges (crosses on both, a label and a charged quarter, respectively) are common throughout European heraldry. Within Picardy at least, crosses and labels are the most common ordinaries and subordinaries respectively.<sup>134</sup> The colours too (gold, red, and black) are the most common in medieval French armorials; even silver would be more distinctive.<sup>135</sup> It would therefore be no surprise to find multiple descriptions of exactly the same blason being associated with different families in different armorials, a common difficulty even with less ubiquitous charges and colours. The most recent catalogues of arms make it possible to correlate the central shield with an Artesian blason described as belonging to ‘Le Seigneur de Bernastre’ in the 15th-century Armorial Leblancq (and in the other, later derivatives of the Armorial Urfé): a black cross on a field of gold, surmounted by a red label with three points.<sup>136</sup> This

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<sup>133</sup> Omont, Couderc and de La Roncière, eds., *Catalogue* pp. 345–6, no. 24406.

<sup>134</sup> Michel Popoff, ‘La partie Picarde de l’*Armorial Navarre*’, in *Cahiers d’Héraldique* IV (Paris: Le Léopard d’or, 1983), pp. 49–83 at pp. 50–52: ‘La pièce la plus fréquente est la *croix* ...’, p. 51; ‘... le *lambel* est la brisure la plus souvent rencontrée, ce qui, jusqu’à preuve du contraire, ne semble pas exceptionnel ...’, p. 52.

<sup>135</sup> Robert Nussard, ed., *Le rôle d’armes Bigot*, Documents d’héraldique médiévale 2 (Cahot: Le Léopard d’or, 1985), p. 14.

<sup>136</sup> Michel Popoff, *Marches d’armes I: Artois et Picardie, Beauvaisis, Boulonnais, Coriois, Ponthieu, Vermandois* (Paris: Le Léopard d’or, 1981), pp. 59–60. Popoff lists the blason as 1739 in the Armorial Urfé and 417 in its derivative, the Armorial Le Blancq (Cambrai, Bibliothèque publique, MS 350). It may be found as the last item on fol. 184r of F-Pn fr. 5232. The association of the black cross on gold

combination is not unique in heraldry: the same appears ascribed to Jean de Vecy (an Anglo-French knight and the husband of Gui de Lusignan's niece) in the Camden Roll.<sup>137</sup>

The Bernâtre hypothesis is the more promising as it points to Artois, the very region most often associated with late-thirteenth-century trouvère activity and where Elizabeth Aubrey has already located the manuscript in her description.<sup>138</sup> Bernâtre itself was (and is) a small town situated midway between Arras and Amiens.<sup>139</sup> Its lords in the thirteenth century included Jean de Préaux and his brother Raoul de Préaux, a family name eventually supplanted by Raoul's title, de Rayneval. A letter from Jehan to Raoul dated 1273 and reported in an inventory of 1515, records their titles and holdings, as well as the sale of Jean's claims to Hangest en Senters to Raoul.<sup>140</sup> An alliance of 1320 brought the land under the dominion of the Boubers-Tuncq family; Jean de Boubers married Mahaut de Rayneval, dame de Bernâtre, adopting her arms, a black cross on a field of gold, charged with five shells, still

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(though without the label) with the Boubers-Bernâtre family is also attested by the Armorial Bergshammar, also derived largely from the Armorial Urfé, see Popoff, *Artois*, p. 59 and Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, 'Elements d'héraldique médiévale : Orientations pour l'étude et l'utilisation des armoriaux du Moyen Âge', *Cahiers d'Héraldique* I (Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1974), pp. I–XXXIV at p. X.

<sup>137</sup> This is Shield 42 (number 41 in the Anglo-Norman blazon) of the 'Camden Roll', British Museum, Cotton Roll XV.8. Gerald J. Brault, ed., *Eight thirteenth-century rolls of arms in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon* (University Park, PA and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), p. 69 and James Greenstreet, 'The Original Camden Roll of Arms', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, First Series XXXVIII (1882), pp. 309–28 at pp. 314 and 326. See also the note on Jean de Vecy in François Marvaud, *Études historiques sur la ville de Cognac et l'arrondissement* (Angoulême: Lefraïse, 1856), p. 122. John de Vecy or Vesci became the first baron by writ in 1253 on the death of his father William and died in 1289.

<sup>138</sup> Aubrey, '4 Vernacular Monophony: French', at p. 857. This corresponds to her proposed origins for *KNPX* as well, but see Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Part I vol. 2, p. 160 and Chapter 1 above for signs of Parisian production in the linguistic habits of *V*'s scribes.

<sup>139</sup> Théodose Lefèvre, *Notice historique sur le canton de Bernaville (Somme)* (Amiens: Yvert et Tellier, 1897), p. 52.

<sup>140</sup> Victor Beauvillé, *Documents inédits concernant la Picardie*, 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1877), vol. 3, p. 299.

carried by Raoul de Rayneval (de Bernâtre) in 1335.<sup>141</sup> These arms and the chansonnier could therefore reasonably be rough contemporaries.

The other coat of arms (duplicated on either side of the central arms) is more of a challenge. At some point, their quarters contained charges, but these have been scraped off, perhaps intentionally. There is one family that is known to have carried a gold cross on red and made a habit of differentiating individual members it by using different charges on a dexter quarter or canton: that is the family Varennes, as identified in the Picard section of the the *Armorial de Navarre*.<sup>142</sup> The entry lists Achille carrying *gules à croix or* and his son and grandson each adopting a different canton, Florent's containing a lion with queue fourchy (*lionceau à queue fourché*) and Mahieu's containing a mullet of six points pierced (*molette*).<sup>143</sup> Although there are other families known to have carried gold crosses on red fields, none are known to have adopted a canton or quarter.<sup>144</sup>

Establishing a specific connection at the end of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th between a particular branch of the family Varennes and the lords of Bernâtre might be possible in future following a consultation of the archives of the

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<sup>141</sup> Lefèvre, *Bernaville*, pp. 52–3.

<sup>142</sup> Popoff, *Marches d'Armes* I, p. 50, Popoff, 'La partie Picarde de l'*Armorial Navarre*', in *Cahiers d'Héraldique* IV (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1983), pp. 49–83 at p. 80. The Picard family de Varennes that produced Florent, the first *amiral de France*, is not to be confused with the lords of the Lyonnais chateau of the same name. See Claude le Laboureur, *Les Mazures de l'Abbaye Royale de l'Isle-barbe ou Histoire de tout ce qui s'est passé dans ce celebre monastère depuis sa secularisation jusques à present* 2 vols. (Paris: Jean Couterot, 1681), vol. 2, pp. 616–26.

<sup>143</sup> Florent, or perhaps a different individual with the same forename is described as bearing the cross without the quarter in P. Anselme, Augustin Déchauffé continued by M. du Fourny, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, 3rd edition, Revûe, corrigée & augmentée par les soins du P. Ange & du P. Simplicien, Augustins Déchauffez 10 vols. (Paris: Compagnie de libraires associez, 1733; repr. Paris: Éditions du Palais Royal, 1967) vol. 7, p. 732; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), p. 293.

<sup>144</sup> It is the quarter or canton that is unique and it is unclear from Popoff what colouring the Varennes adopted for the quarter. Although there have been, for example, some half-dozen English family arms with the same colouring of cross and field with charges in the dexter chief, none sported a canton or quarter. G. D. Squibb and A. R. Wagner, eds, *Paperworth's Ordinary of British Armorial* (London: Tabard, 1961), pp. 622–9.

Département de la Somme. However, tracing the family trees and family histories of these plausible owners is beyond the scope of this thesis. It would be futile to attempt it without knowing, for instance, whether the arms are included as a sign of familial ownership or municipal provenance. Furthermore, my aim is precisely to move away from the search for origins toward a broader view of a continuum of creation, reception, and recreation. What would be useful, could it be uncovered, is the path that took the manuscript from the possession of whoever inserted the coats of arms into the hands of its next known owner. That the city of Varennes itself is situated less than 50 kilometres from Bernâtre (similarly between Amiens and Arras) strengthens the possibility of an early Picard possessor of the manuscript.

Unfortunately, this new information so far takes us only as far as supporting a place of origin in Artois for *V*. If the connection to the Varennes family could be secured, at least the prominent rank of *V*'s earliest known owners (the family that produced Florent de Varennes, first admiral of France and particular companion of Louis IX) could be established with certainty.<sup>145</sup>

### 3.2 'Furent donnez Raoulet Berthelot et Perrine Fougerays': A Courtly Anthology in Bourgeois Tours

Among the sparse pieces of evidence attesting to *V*'s medieval ownership is an inscription on fol. 119v documenting a 15<sup>th</sup>-century marriage. Though scholars have referenced the inscription, none have attempted a full transcription.<sup>146</sup> The script,

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<sup>145</sup> Le Goff, *ibid.*, p. 293; Joseph Strayer, 'The Crusades of Louis IX', in *idem*, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph R. Strayer with a foreword by Gaines Post* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 159–92 at p. 185.

<sup>146</sup> Aubrey, '4 Secular Monophony: French', pp. 857–8; Jean-Baptiste Camps, 'Les Manuscrits occitan à la Bibliothèque nationale de France', Masters Thesis, diplôme de conservateur des bibliothèques,

though forbidding, is legible and a preliminary attempt is provided in Appendix A section 6. My reading, ‘mercredi avant la tous sains xxix<sup>e</sup> jour d’ottobre’ contradicts Epstein’s year of 1457 (though Raoulet’s V is plausible as the C of cinquante) as well as the date of 20<sup>th</sup> October that Segré provides. In 1427, the 29th was indeed the Wednesday before All Saints by the Julian calendar.<sup>147</sup>

What neither scholar has previously noted is the place of the wedding: *l’église de saint-pere-pulier de tours*, presumably referring to the church of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, built in Tours in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This localisation of the wedding allows the identification of this Raoulet Berthelot with a clerk, active in Tours in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century and a member of a rapidly ascending bourgeois family.<sup>148</sup> Although city documents do not attest to any Perrine de Fougerais, there is evidence of a wealthy Fougerais family in Tours starting in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Between 1347 and 1385, a Guillaume Fougerais (a *changeur*, surely too old to have been the Guillaume who fathered Perrine) paid taxes as the proprietor of ‘sept grandes maisons’.<sup>149</sup> In 1420, a ‘maistre Raoul de Fougerais’, educated in Paris, is installed as *chanoine* at Saint-Martin. From Raoul’s lengthy petitions to be given this post, Chevalier concludes it was an enviable one, demonstrating the status and education of at least one member of the Fougerais family.<sup>150</sup>

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École nationale supérieure des sciences de l’information et des bibliothèques (2010) p. 18; Marcia Epstein, ‘Prions’, p. 8; Segre, ed., *Bestiaires*, p. xlv.

<sup>147</sup> By reference to the Sunday Letter E for 1427 in the Perpetual Table of Sunday Letters in Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 831–2 and the date-to-*feria* conversion table in *ibid.*, Appendix G, p. 858. 29 October 1457 (Sunday letter B) was a Saturday.

<sup>148</sup> Bernard Chevalier, *Tours, Ville Royale: 1356–1520, origine et développement d’une capitale à la fin du Moyen âge* (Louvain and Paris: Vander-Nauzelaerts, 1975), refers to Raoulet as ‘un simple clerc, d’un niveau d’instruction très modeste’, p. 168. However, the Berthelot family in general was in the process of successfully transitioning away from the languishing banking profession and Raoulet’s relatives would soon appear as employees of the royal household, *ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>150</sup> *Archives communales de Tours*, BB, R.1, fol. 66, 2 March 1420 and X 1C, 127, nos. 122–3, cited in *ibid.*, p. 194.

While the evidence is still too scanty to speculate on the reasons for the marriage of the two families, the documents do suggest that Raoulet was marrying up while Perrine was marrying down. The fortunes of les Fougerais had been established during the banking boom in Tours of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, there was dwindling space for bankers and the legal profession was becoming more important in the city relative to other trades.<sup>151</sup> Raoulet's position as cleric and later as *clerc du bailliage* probably offered more promise of later success than immediate capital.

The manuscript, then, might well have been a symbol of social mobility. If we imagine it was given as part of the dowry, it was surely an exceptional boon. Conversely, we might expect that the manuscript was no longer as prized as it had been, having come exceptionally far socially and geographically from its original conception. The fact that it was in the possession of a bourgeois family this long after its initial compilation says virtually nothing about the origins of the manuscript. It is unlikely that a family like the Fougerais commissioned it, given the coats of arms on fol. 1r. If my hypothesis in the previous section is correct, the manuscript arrived among the Tourangeau families only after considerable travel. The only documentation that might offer some hope of tracing the manuscript immediately before or after 1437 are records of the Berthelot family, and these offer little assistance. The reconstructed Berthelot family tree at the Bibliothèque nationale reaches back only as far as the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>152</sup> The numerous inscriptions, signatures, charters and other statements of rights and notices of payment by various

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<sup>151</sup> Chevalier suggests that to become a *changeur* in 1424 was 's'engager dans une voie bouchée', *ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>152</sup> 'Touraine', in 'Feuillets relatifs à: Berthelot', F-Pn, cabinet des titres, pièces originales 312, [no pagination].

Berthelot in that same collection of documents includes nothing from Raoulet. The documents in Tours do mention Raoulet as an employee specifically, but there is no reason to expect they provide the truly useful information that family documents such as his testament might have done.<sup>153</sup>

### 3.3 Medieval Song in a Humanist's Library

Thanks to the coat of arms of Claude d'Urfé on an inserted parchment page immediately before the chansonnier itself, we can be certain that the codex formed part of the formidable collection of around 200 manuscripts at La Bâtie, Claude's expanded family estate. Most of the renovations took place around the 1550s, not long before Claude's death in 1558 and the expansions to the library presumably took place then as well.<sup>154</sup> Most of the 200 were rebound in green leather, vellum, or morocco and embossed with the Urfé coat of arms, or in some cases, two interlocking C's (for Claude) with an I in between (for his wife, Jeanne).<sup>155</sup> André Vernet has identified well over three-quarters of the manuscripts (though the thousands of printed books remain elusive) and their present locations, thanks in part to a description from 1773, just before the bulk of the collection was sold off to the Duc de La Vallière.<sup>156</sup> This inventory (now housed in a manuscript in Amsterdam), sketchy though it is,

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<sup>153</sup> Archives anciennes, Archives municipales de Tours, BB, R. 5, fols. 177, 1433, cited in Chevalier, *Tours*, p. 168.

<sup>154</sup> The Archives de Meaux à St-Just-en-Chevalet, no. 192 for the year 1551 reveal that he took out a loan of 2000 écus at that time, presumably as a means of financing the building project. His financial difficulties around this time are well documented and presumed to result from the enormous cost of building the Bâtie; cited in Vincent Guichart, 'Claude d'Urfé: Eléments de biographie', in *idem.*, ed., *Claude d'Urfé et la Bâtie: l'univers d'un gentilhomme de la Renaissance* (Montbrison: Conseil general de la Loire, 1990), pp. 21–39 at p. 30, note 51.

<sup>155</sup> Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868), vol. 2, p. 421; André Vernet, 'Les manuscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501–1558) au château de la Bastie', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 120 (1976), pp. 81–97 at p. 89.

<sup>156</sup> André Vernet, 'La bibliothèque de Claude d'Urfé', in Guichart, *L'univers*, pp. 183–93, at p. 186.



allows us not only to connect descriptions to decorations in current manuscripts, it also gives an idea of the binding at the time. Some 80 books are listed and followed by a description of a common green binding and inserted decoration.<sup>157</sup> It is clear that these books had pride of place, as the following descriptions of some additional 60 books are less detailed and no mention is made of the binding or decoration. Many have lost their binding or had it replaced, though many volumes still retain it.<sup>158</sup>

Given that the current binding of *V* is recent (the current covering dates to 1971, according to a note in blue ink on fol. Ir from a BnF librarian, ‘Reliure restaurée en 1971’), the information from the Amsterdam inventory is potentially extremely useful. Was *V* one of the manuscripts to be given green binding, along with the interior coat of arms? If so, perhaps the ordering of the two collections was changed at that time, due to Claude d’Urfé’s preference for the decorated trouvère songs over the austere prose treatise that opens the second volume. Only one entry in the inventory refers to a notated chansonnier, mentioning tablature, not square notation. Yet *V* was not the sole medieval chansonnier Claude possessed: the notated troubador collection F-Pn fr. 22543 (Troubadour R) was also in the Urfé library, along with other song-books. The Rouen puy collection of *chansons royale* and *ballades*, originally presented to Claude’s mother-in-law, Anne de Graille, is clearly referred to by entry 17 of the list that follows those possessing the *tranche dorée*: ‘Manuscrit de chantes royaux, rondeaux et balladées’.

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<sup>157</sup> ‘Tous les livres cy dessus ont la tranche dorée, sont reliés en velours vert avec deux escussons des armes d’Urfé au milieu de chaque costé, et aux quatre coins de la reliure un sacrifice, des devises et des chiffres, le tout de cuyvre doré en relief’, Amsterdam, Remonstrantsche Kerk, III, C.21<sup>1</sup>; the entire catalogue is transcribed in Vernet, ‘Bibliothèque’, at pp. 188–9.

<sup>158</sup> See for example, the current binding of F-Pn fr. 20315 and 20853, GB-Lbl Add. 27697 and GB-Ob Douce 329; Vernet lists some thirty other manuscripts that still retain the green binding with coats of arms in his ‘Au château de la Bastie’, at p. 89, note 35.

Confirmation that entry no. 42 refers to *V* and not to *TroubR* comes from the fact that the same number is found at the top of fol. 1r to the left of the foliation in *V*. The catalogue entry refers to a ‘Livre de chansons, la pluspart mises en tablature, manuscrit en vélin’, without indicating the language of the collection. In *TroubR*, the majority of songs are lacking notation, though notation does appear on enough pages to give the impression that about half the collection has music. By contrast, the overwhelming majority of *V*’s songs contain notation, the exceptions coming only at the end with the *chansons pieuses*.

The inventorist is almost certainly referring to *V* here, in which case we may be confident that : a) by 1773, the current ordering had been established (ensuring the identification of the book as a song collection and not a miscellany) ; and b) the manuscript formed part of the heart of Claude d’Urfé’s collection and was luxuriously bound in green and decorated with a gold coat of arms. We might also suspect that this probable rebinding (likely in the 1550s but before 1558) coincided with the reordering of the collection from that indicated by the late-medieval gathering signatures.

Thus, the Urfé coat of arms leads us to tantalizing speculation. It is tempting to assume that the coat of arms was accompanied by a new binding and by a reordering, reflecting the pride of place generally afforded to poetry in the family library. Knowing that one of the most renowned ‘French humanists’ took a serious interest in the contents of a trouvère chansonnier would shed light on literary history and on the manuscript’s physical history. We might even wish to date the gilding of the pages and marginal doodles from this period. Yet definite evidence of interest in *V* does not arrive until well after Claude d’Urfé’s death.

### 3.4 *V* as a Collection Among Collections: Enlightenment Bibliophiles

Most of the attributive insertions in *V* probably belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps before the Amsterdam catalogue. The flourishing of interest in the trouvères during the Enlightenment left marks on several chansonniers now in Paris, both before and after they arrived at the Bibliothèque du Roi. The attributions in *V* are scattered and unsystematic: written in diverse hands, they are the results of various identification projects, none of which comprehensively identified every author whose songs are represented in *V*<sup>l</sup>.

On fol. 29r, the name *Crestien de Troies* appears in cursive in the central margin, thus marking the only song in the manuscript associated with that author. Another cursive attribution appears on fol. 59v in the outer margin, giving *Raoul de Soissons* as the author of song 140, *Se je ai esté lonc tens en romenie* (RS 1204). This song is one of many in *V*<sup>l</sup> that are elsewhere attributed to Raoul, nor is it by any means the first. Why the attribution is isolated here is a mystery. It does appear to be the same hand as that on fol. 29r, meaning whomever it belonged to must have passed over several gatherings without finding a single concordance.

From this point attributions are more frequent. The hand reappears again several folios later, first naming the *Conte d'Anjou* for song 167 and then attributing an entire series of songs to *Perrin d'Angecourt*, starting with song 170, *James ne cuidai avoir talent de chanter* (RS 1786) reiterating the name for every song up to 173, *Bonne amour conseilliez moi* (RS 1665).<sup>159</sup> One more attribution to *Perrin d'Angecourt* appears in the central margin of that page, though in a more calligraphic style. Another insertion on fol. 72r offers the name *Blondiaus* in the right-hand

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<sup>159</sup> Fols. 69v col. a, 70v col. a, and 71v col. a respectively.

margin for song 176, *Se savoient mon torment* (RS 742). The song is indeed attributed to *Blondiaus de Neele* in chansonnier *K* (page 119) and simply *Blondiaus* in *M* (at fol. 143v). The first cursive hand, that of fols. 29 and 59, now returns on fol. 74r citing *Quens de Bethune* as the author of song 182, *Hai amours con dure departie* (RS 1125). On fol. 82r, three songs are attributed to *Moniot d'Arras* and one on 84v is again attributed to *Raoul de Soisson*. The name *Pierre d'Angecourt* appears in the first staff of column a on fol. 92r while *Perrin* reappears in the central margin of fol. 94r. On fol. 103v, the calligraphic style from the *Perrin* attribution on 71v reappears, this time giving the title *Le Roy de Navarre*. The same hand offers us the name *Gaudifer d'Anjou* on fol. 113r for song 286, *Tant ai d'amours apriz et entendu* (RS 2054). Only chansonnier *C* contains a medieval author name for this song (CH-BEsu 389, fol. 231v), possibly the source for *V<sup>l</sup>*'s attribution; the same song in *O* is marked by the same annotation in what appears to be the same hand.

Many of the annotations in *V<sup>l</sup>* are suspiciously similar to the handwriting of Cangé (c.1680–1746), who copiously annotated the so-called chansonnier Cangé, *O* (F-Pn fr. 846).<sup>160</sup> Cangé was a collector of chansonniers and was able to pursue the hobby of establishing manuscript concordances thanks to his extensive consultation of other trouvère manuscripts (*M*, *N*, *P*, *Q*, *R*, *T*, and *X*).<sup>161</sup> Though Cangé's death preceded the manuscript's advent to Paris by decades, it is more than plausible he could have arranged to borrow the book. On the other hand, annotations to trouvère manuscripts during the Enlightenment was not at all an uncommon practice. Some two centuries before Cangé, Claude Fauchet (1530–1602) was already annotating *L*, *a* and perhaps other chansonniers. In the seventeenth century, a 'shadowy paid scribe',

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<sup>160</sup> Aubrey, 'Bibliophiles', at pp. 19–21.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, at p. 28 see also table, p. 29.

Bartholémy Rémy, made two notated manuscript copies of the chansonnier Clairambault (X) as well as leaving his marks on the manuscript itself.<sup>162</sup> Neither of these individuals' script much resembles those found in *V*<sup>l</sup>, but there may well have been other bibliophiles not yet identified who took a pen to the chansonniers. Determining whether the same modern hand is responsible for the attributions in both *V* and *O* is a task for palaeographic specialists of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Presumably, the marginal attributions in *V* were used as an aid to constructing the partial table of contents on fol. Ar of *V*. This table is copied in a hand conspicuously similar to that which wrote *La Val 59.1* at the top of fol. 1r, thus dating it after 1783. The table specifically picks out the songs of *Le Roi de Navarre*, *Chrestien de Troies*, *Gasse Brulé*, *Pier de Laceus*, *Perrin d'Angecourt*, *Moniot d'Arras*, *Chatelain de Coucy* and *Raoul de Soisson*, ignoring numerous other renowned trouvères such as Adam de la Halle.<sup>163</sup> The ordering of this miniature index neither matches the relative fame of the authors, nor the ordering of the songs in the manuscript. It may relate only to the order in which its compiler was able to identify the songs, perhaps reflecting the manuscripts against which he or she was comparing the songs in *V*. In either case, the evidence is clear that this was a reader interested in establishing concordances and above all authorship, the same obsessions that would finally culminate in the comprehensive table of Raynaud late in the 19th century. What can only be surmised is the extent to which this 19th-century hand or its earlier counterpart stems from concern with the music, or only with text.

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<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32 and Haines, *Eight Centuries*, pp. 64–9.

<sup>163</sup> The page numbers given are respectively: 1, 57, 68, 112, 135, 163, 60, and 117–66.

Marginal annotation was not the only type of inscription Cangé imposed on chansonnier *O*. Elizabeth Aubrey has posited that several chansons in that collection are actually notated in his hand. It is definite, at the least, that they are modern imitations of medieval notation, not unlike those of Rémy in his transcriptions of *X*. Ever circumspect, Aubrey raises the possibility in her *New Grove* article that the same process occurred in *V*, specifically *V*<sup>2</sup>: would not a modern hand immediately explain the extremely informal, almost incompetent, notation of the final gathering?

Several facts argue against this hypothesis. First, the songs in *V*<sup>2</sup> are all musical unica: that is, although their texts are attested in other manuscripts, no music notation can be found for them outside of *V*<sup>2</sup>. The melodies that accompany these songs instead match completely different texts, some found in *V*<sup>1</sup>, others elsewhere. While it is conceivable an 18th-century scribe might have had the motive to attempt to fill in the missing gaps in the manuscript, it is unclear how he would have located the melodies. The catalogues of verse scheme and stanza structure that now facilitate the identification of contrafacta date mostly from the middle of the 20th century. Even if the task were achieved through sheer force of will (only the melodies for the first eighteen songs were ever supplied, after all), we would have to concede that the exemplar used is now lost. *V*<sup>2</sup>'s melodies are no holographic copies of their secular models: they display the same types of variance familiar elsewhere in the *trouvère* repertoire. The song *L'autrier m'iere rendormiz* (RS 1559), mentioned in the last chapter, is distinct from every version of *Quant li rossignol* in numerous minor details. It is perhaps closest to a Latin contrafactum of the same melody, *Nitimur in vetitum* found in I-F1 Pluteus 29.1, the F manuscript of the *Magnus Liber Organi*. This is no surprise if we imagine the religious French version was invented and circulated in musically-educated ecclesiastical circles. Connecting these two versions would

show an astounding level of familiarity with medieval repertoire for an 18<sup>th</sup>-century gentleman.

Finally, the command of the notation itself defies the suggestion of a modern imitation. Adhering neither to purely non-mensural square-notation nor to the strictly-measured systems of polyphonic music, the notation of  $V^2$  precisely matches the informal and apparently haphazard use of mensural ligatures found in other later chansonniers such as *A*, *O*, *R*, or  $V^1$  without directly copying from any of them. Changing a single ligature in the course of copying could indicate an error. Changing many suggests a basic familiarity with the notation that Rémy and Cangé lacked. If, for whatever reason, we assume that  $V^2$ 's music was copied in the modern era, we must assume it is a holograph from a lost manuscript that had the same texts with the same music and whose notation appeared very much as does that in  $V^2$ .

Even in this case, the staff-lines are difficult to explain. One basis for doubting the notator's hand is its wavy sloppiness, a trait that extends to the staves. Yet the staves must surely be medieval; why would the putative modern scribe take the trouble to insert staves for all the songs before being sure he had the capacity to supply music? Such optimism is understandable from a medieval notator, who presumably was hired due to musical competence, a knowledge of the repertoire, and access to other notated collections. In a modern notator, it would surely be hubris. Presumptuous though he was, Cangé limited himself to supplying music for empty staves. If we assume that a modern notator merely added music to staves that already existed, we have excluded from the modern hand the very evidence that justifies the hypothesis, i.e., the unusually wavy and hesitant aspect. Much of the informality stems from the staves themselves. Even in the act of explaining away the odd appearance of the notation, we would still have to posit a medieval notator who, even

if only copying staves in this instance, would probably produce notes that look very much like the informal blobs and curvy stems that we see in the religious contrafacta of fols. 149–152.

This is not to insist that the notation was added to  $V^2$  during its first period of production. The staves and music might have been a medieval afterthought, added in a much less professional way than was originally been hoped for. Numerous scholars have proposed that the music of  $V^2$  should be dated later than the text (the latter probably belonging to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century). It is difficult to disagree after comparing some of the backward-looking elements in the notation of  $V^1$  to the insistent mensural ligatures of  $V^2$  and its general resemblance to the type of notation in the early-14<sup>th</sup> century chansonnier *O*.

### 3.5 Use and Abuse: Residue of Page-turning and Marginal Sketches

That  $V$  was read and used cannot be questioned. Nor can the fact that it was sometimes used as spare parchment. The only remaining pieces of evidence to be examined are those traces left on the manuscript that could reflect nearly any period. Chief among these are the signs of use noticed by Epstein, which she mentions in reference to the fact that  $V^2$  ‘was apparently not a formal presentation copy’.<sup>164</sup> The ‘indications of use’ consist of built up residue near the lower corners of pages. These traces are limited to certain portions of the manuscript: fols. 1–62 and fols. 141–155. The fingermarks leading up to fol. 62 disappear gradually while those on fol. 141 begin abruptly, as if readers consistently skipped over the *Traité des quatres nécessaires*, continued through the Bestiary and chansonnier until gradually getting

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<sup>164</sup> Epstein, *Prions*, pp. 3–4.



bored of the anonymous chansons (most pieces in Gathering 8 are unica). In a certain sense, fols. 141 to 62 (in the previous ordering) formed a usage unit, despite the fact that the entire manuscript was surely bound together as a whole. These patterns of usage could reflect modern tastes: the treaty has never been edited while numerous scholars have taken an interest in Richard's bestiary and in the chansons. But the fingermarks cannot all be explained by the likes of Cangé, since many of his marginalia appear in Gatherings 9–15. The most likely explanation is that the oily residue was left by those reading *V<sup>l</sup>* in a linear fashion, not scouring every gathering for the chansons by the most immediately recognisable authors. It is to be assumed that scholars who have published on the manuscript took greater care than its early owners and surely took the trouble to examine all of its contents thoroughly.

Finally, some of the margins of *V<sup>l</sup>* were used as scratch paper after production. Attempts to imitate the manuscript's script appear on fols. 119v and 140v after the explicits. Along with a rather unexpected pen-drawn illustration of a royal head on fol. 105r col. b is a poor imitation of it (Plate 2.18). In the same section of the manuscript, there are similar attempts at imitating marginalia. Knowing Cangé and Rémy's attempts at recreating medieval notation, it would be tempting to date these attempts to the same period (for a more detailed description, see Appendix A, section 7).



Plate 2.18 Marginal Pencil Drawings,  
V<sup>l</sup>, fol. 105r col. b

#### 4. A Presumptive Timeline of Assembly and Ownership

The evidence from codicology and palaeography offers much information, but no concrete basis for establishing dates of copying, assembly, annotation, rebinding, or reordering. From the physical evidence of the manuscript alone, it is possible only to concur with previous scholars that the manuscript was compiled in the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century and was probably prepared for owners on the border of Artois along the Somme. The evidence does at least suggest a relative dating for its construction, compilation and the various marks of use and annotations. The relationship between different periods of repurposing and reordering provides enough of a basis to show how conceptions of *V* changed through time. A presentation of the inferences and conjectures made in the course of this chapter so far translated into narrative form would run as follows.

*V*<sup>2</sup>'s preparation probably began before *V*<sup>1</sup>'s, perhaps with the *Bestiaire* copied first, and the *Traitié* some time after 1266. The *Traitié* and Marian chansons in *V*<sup>2</sup> were copied continuously through irregularly organized gatherings (at first without music). The collection was copied in gatherings or groups of smaller gatherings, as the catchwords attest. *V*<sup>1</sup>'s compilation began around this time, copied gathering by gathering and not always in sequence. The music was probably entered into the first gatherings before the text was finished in the later gatherings (perhaps Gatherings 1–2 were completed as a unit). Proof-readers were at work contemporaneously with the copying or soon after. *V*<sup>1</sup> was then furnished with illumination, including the coats of arms, indicating a Picard destination and probably that the manuscript was expected to be bound beginning with Thibaut.

At this point or shortly after,  $V^2$  began to receive notation as well, before the annexation of  $V^1$  following it. By the time of their combination,  $V^2$  was misordered and all or part of a gathering from the *Traité* went missing. The roman numeral foliation must be added after the combination.  $V^2$  was reordered again before the addition of gathering signatures.

The traces of page-turning through the manuscript could plausibly relate to its early history. For a considerable period of time, the manuscript was used for what was then its central portion, extending from the beginning of the *Bestiaire d'amour* through the chansons in  $V^2$  and into the first section of  $V^1$ . Readers took an interest in many of the unica and the religious chansons, but not in the Adam de la Halle pieces. When  $V$  reached the Fougeray family in Tours, the manuscript was probably imagined as a codex containing the *Bestiaire* and miscellaneous songs, the most interesting clustered near the beginning. It probably remained in the  $V^2$ -first ordering and the earlier binding when it received Raoulet Berthelot's inscription.

The travels of fr. 24406 between this point and the 1540s are untraceable. Claude d'Urfé purchased the manuscript late in that decade, rebound it in green vellum, probably in its current ordering and inserted a guard page with his coat of arms at the beginning. A number of annotations appearing in the manuscript probably date to the following two centuries when bibliophiles were comparing texts and attributions between chansonniers. Unlike the smudges at page corners, these annotations reveal an interest in the entirety of  $V^1$  but none in  $V^2$ . The interest was exclusive to attributable songs, thus excluding the unica and the prose works. The manuscript remained in the Urfé family until the Duc de la Vallière purchased it between 1766 and 1783. It received its current binding, the arabic gathering numbers and perhaps the attempt at pagination at the end of that century. The published

description in 1783 marked the manuscript's sale to the Bibliothèque nationale and an increase in attention in the 19th century. The binding was restored again in 1971, and paper guards were added around the stitching. In 1974, most of  $V^1$ 's music and texts were edited by Fiona McAlpine and  $V$ 's music appeared (piecemeal) in its entirety in Hans Tischler's 1997 synoptic edition of trouvère melodies. The manuscript was digitized early in the new millennium and appeared online in colour in 2011.

The story told here is one of changing value.  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  underwent parallel processes of downgrading.  $V^1$  is a compromise between thoroughness and the cost of paying numerous craftsmen on the one hand, and speed and cheapened materials on the other. The inconsistencies within the copying of individual pages are nothing unusual for vernacular manuscripts; what are more interesting and surprising are the moments where  $V^1$ 's compilers employ more care and deliberate neatness than was probably necessary for the manuscript to be in acceptable condition.  $V^2$  had been designed from the first to be flexible: its irregular gathering structure suggests a lax attitude to planning; the possible repurposing of an outer parchment guard (fol. 140) as an integral page of the manuscript would indicate the contents were not definite before copying began. The music and decorated initials were clearly expected by the text scribe, but we need not imagine they would have been of the same level as those in  $V^1$ . The manuscript is able to fulfill its function as a conveyor of text without them. For  $V^1$ , being added to  $V^2$  must have been a further downgrade of status. The latter can only be assumed to have acted as filler, but the fact remains that  $V^1$  was inserted second; its status as the heir to the carefully-designed trouvère anthology is lost.

Who read the manuscript and why over the centuries remains a subject for speculation, though it is intriguing to imagine it passing from courtly to clerical to bourgeois contexts, before finding a home on the shelves of bibliophiles and in the

possession of individuals self-consciously focused on literary history. In a sense, the history of the manuscript continues in the scholarly works written about it: there is little fundamental difference between the antiquarian interest displayed in the attributive annotations in the manuscript and that which prompted later published bibliographies of trouvère song, other than that one is within the manuscript itself and the other is printed for circulation. Perhaps the most significant development falls when *V* left private ownership and became part of the *patrimoine nationale* of the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque nationale. Guillaume de Bure's flattering description, half-promotion, half-codicology, marks the most visible moment in *V*'s transition toward an object of scholarship. It is here that *V*'s history begins to be written outside the confines of its binding. From the manuscript's entry into the Bibliothèque nationale, its value as a basis for historical and literary investigation, a window into the past, eclipsed its material worth as an artistic object.<sup>165</sup> That has not prevented *V*<sup>2</sup>'s eccentric appearance from predisposing scholars against the reliability of the codex as a music-historical document. With more recent synoptic editions and vindications of *V*, and most of all with its digitization, the production and editing of the manuscript continues even now.

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<sup>165</sup> Consider, for example, the conservateur responsible for the seizures of incunabula and other rare books, Joseph Van Praët's directive to book collectors in Italy during the seizures of the 1790's: 'Prendre généralement tous les manuscrits d'histoire, d'auteurs classiques grecs et latins, de poètes en quelque langue qu'ils soient. Négliger les manuscrits des Pères de l'Église et des théologiens, à moins qu'ils ne soient assez anciens pour servir à l'histoire de la diplomatie. ...', F-Pn AM CCLXIX, cited in Marie-Pierre Laffitte, 'La Bibliothèque Nationale et les "conquêtes artistiques" de la Révolution et de l'Empire: les manuscrits d'Italie (1796-1815)', *Bulletin du Bibliophile, revue fondé en 1834* [issue 125] (1989), pp. 273–322 at p. 276. See also Dominique Varry, 'Les confiscations révolutionnaires', in André Vernet, Dominique Varry, Claude Jolly, and Martine Poulain, eds., *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 4 vols. (Promodis: Cercle de la Librairie, 1989–1992), vol. IV, pp. 9–27 at p. 26.

## Part II

### Inverted Stemmas:

#### A Common Copy from Multiple Exemplars

IF *V* IS A PROFESSIONALLY CURATED COLLECTION of valued songs, where did its material come from? And how does that material relate to the trouvère ‘authors’ to whom the songs are so often attributed? These questions have inspired several generations of scholars and yet many of the problems they pose remain insoluble. In particular, the once common hope of sorting through each song’s various versions to trace the remains of a lost ‘original’, or even to identify ‘better or worse transmissions’ has been abandoned.<sup>166</sup> In its place came the recognition of a range of

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<sup>166</sup> Even before the intervention of van der Werf, an enormous evolution in thought had taken place in the first half of the twentieth century. This began even before Joseph Bédier, the father of 20th-century French philology, published his paradigm destroying preface in Jean Renart, *Le lai de l'ombre*, Joseph Bédier, ed. (2nd ed. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1913), pp. I–XLV especially from p. XXIII, ‘Du classement des manuscrits’. The collaborations between Bédier, and the Troubadour scholars Aubry and Beck in Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry eds., *Les chansons de croisade: avec leurs mélodies* (Paris: Champion, 1909; repr. Genève: Slatkine, 1974) and Joseph Bédier, ed., *Les chansons de Colin Muset*, with melodic transcriptions by Jean Beck (Paris: Champion, 1912) respectively, resulted in a certain editorial scepticism pervading the study of vernacular lyric and above all of its music; see Aubry, ‘Introduction, II’, in *ibid.*, pp. XIX–XXXIII at p. XXIV and Beck, *ibid.*, pp. 34, 37. Bédier’s impact can be seen by comparing Aubry’s ‘corrections...que réclamait la tessiture modale de la pièce, particulièrement aux finales, ainsi que les erreurs notoires du copiste’ in Alfred Jeanroy, Louis Brandin, and Pierre Aubry, eds., *Lais et descorts français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Texte et musique* (Paris: Welter, 1901; repr. New York, NY: Broude Brothers, 1969) p. XXIV. The impact was felt more slowly in the germanophone world: compare Gennrich’s earliest tentative steps away from Schwan’s view, ‘Mir scheint die Divergenz der besten Hss. weniger ein Zeichen für bessere oder schlechtere Überlieferung als ein solches für landschaftlich verschiedene Tradition zu sein’, in Friedrich Gennrich, ‘Grundsätzliches zu den Troubadour- und Trouvèrewesen’, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 57 (1937), pp. 31–56 at p. 50, to the same author’s conclusions in ‘Die Repertoire-Theorie’, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 66 (1956), pp. 81–108. By the 1960s, Theodore Karp could assess the situation as follows in his ‘The Trouvère MS Tradition’, in *The Department of Music Queens College of the City University of New York: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962)*, Albert Mell, ed. (New York, NY: Queens College Press, 1964), pp. 25–52, at p. 49: ‘More and more...one moves away from a hypothetical original...to accept the validity of more than one version of a given phrase.’ Ursula Aarburg expresses similar sentiments in her ‘Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher

performance possibilities realized in medieval sound.<sup>167</sup> However, this too is indescribable: few of the manuscripts can reasonably be expected to have been ‘notated directly from oral performances’ and even if they are, from a modern perspective, notation itself is an inadequate medium of conveying performance.<sup>168</sup> Moreover, the relationship between a received version of a song and its performance is just as uncertain as the relationship between a received version and an original.

The compilation of notated chansonniers, indeed, of any non-liturgical book including musical notation, leaves us puzzles and paradoxes. By assumption, musically notated volumes must be more expensive, as musically-trained scribes were in lower supply. Yet some volumes with notation appear decidedly shabby. The process of compiling a professional literary manuscript is understood to be a combination of bespoke tailoring and streamlined production allowing a team of scribes and decorators to produce an efficient ‘run’ of manuscripts of a given text or collection of texts.<sup>169</sup> The evidence that vernacular lyric was copied in such manuscript runs seems almost nonexistent.<sup>170</sup> And yet, the consistent ordering and similarity of presentation of certain chansonniers suggests they were copied one gathering at a time as part of the same project. At some point, demand for luxury chansonniers was high enough to merit heavy investment in compilation of text and

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Liedmelodien’, *Die Musikforschung* 10 (1957), pp. 209–217 at p. 209: ‘Es gibt keine Urtexte, ja, die erhaltenen Melodieaufzeichnungen stammen aus Zeiten, die Jahrzehnte später und oft mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach der Komposition liegen’.

<sup>167</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, ‘Chansons as Creations of Notationless Musical Culture’, *Current Musicology* 1 (1965), pp. 61–8; O’Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 53–92.

<sup>168</sup> O’Neill, *Love Songs*, p. 27.

<sup>169</sup> Hanna, *Introducing*, pp. 78–87, Rouse, *Manuscripts*, pp. 86–88, *idem*, *Pursuing History*, p. 8; *idem* ‘Booklets’, at pp. 101–103. For a set of vernacular manuscripts produced by the same *libraire*, see the Rouses on the Adenet Manuscripts, *Manuscripts*, pp. 103–114.

<sup>170</sup> ‘One cannot underestimate the difficulty book producers faced in obtaining exemplars of vernacular texts in the late-medieval period. Unlike the centralized world of modern print-book culture (or even that of institutionally supported Latin handmade book culture), no consistent demand for vernacular books existed in the Middle Ages.... Those who wanted vernacular books in the Middle Ages had to set about gathering them in a context where only personal contact...allowed acquisition of a text.’ Hanna, *Pursuing History*, p. 8.



music in a monumentalizing, or what might almost be described as a canonical, fashion. Viewing *V* in this context is intriguing, as the volume mixes elements of this pre-compiled canon with aspects of the miscellany. In presenting the information that follows, I will argue that *V*'s compilers took advantage of the after-effects of a consistent production situation to create their own imitation. The text and illuminations are clearly copied from exemplars related to the *KNPX* group. The music, meanwhile, had to be gleaned from the various fragmentary sources no doubt created and combined in the process of developing the standardized luxury chansonnier.

Part II pursues further the context within which the manuscript exists, but moves backward in time from Part I: instead of the context of ownership and use, it is the context of other chansonniers that concerns us here. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical foundations for this work, most of them taken from outside of the field of troubadour and trouvère studies, relying instead on developments in stemmatology and manuscript studies from other repertoires and other disciplines entirely. Chapter 4 brings us back to the trouvères; it consists of a literature review showing the gradual trajectory of the goal of research towards consideration of transmission. Beginning with the ambition of reconstructing authorial versions, scholarship has moved to an acceptance of the irretrievability of authorial versions and has taken up the examination of variants as valid versions and comparison of sources as the task in hand.<sup>171</sup> The remaining question, then, is what immediately preceded a given manuscript? Put another way, this is a question about the scribe: what textual or

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<sup>171</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadors*, Music: Scholarship and Performance [15] (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996; paperback reissue, 2000), p. 34; Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 25–6; Daniel O'Sullivan, 'Editing Melodic Variance in Trouvère Song', *Textual Cultures* 3 (2008), pp. 54–70, at p. 67; Epstein, ed., *Prions*, pp. 6, 67.

musical materials did he or she have to hand before starting to copy? It is in seeking to answer this question that certain methods inherited from classical philology need to be reclaimed.

In Chapter 5, I employ codicological analysis in tandem with an examination of errors in layout or where scribes have copied the wrong song or stanza. Such an examination provides solid ground for beginning to describe the shape of the codices or unbound collections from which *V* was copied. I combine this approach with an intentionally short-sighted genetics that looks for exemplars but not originals. The work here aims at a filiation for the different sections of *V* at the bottom level of the stemma. In addition, it points toward a textual criticism that seeks to supplant dichotomies such as that between ‘clear error’ and ‘plausible variant’ with a dichotomy between mistakes and intentional alteration. The comparison of variants

The codicological investigation and melodic comparison in Chapter 5 are harnessed to the same aim: a consideration of what evidence *V* furnishes for understanding the pre-history of *V*’s songs, the sounds and objects from which they were copied. The goal here is to rediscover the constraints within which *V*’s scribes and notators worked, both the material and the immaterial. These can be determined from, in turn: errors in layout, omissions caused by fragmentary exemplars, and errors and corrections in content. Knowing to what sources *V* may most usefully be compared (and seeing just how many different notated sources are likely to have influenced a single chansonnier) then furnishes us with a path forward for considerations of notation and scribal intention in Part III.

## Philology and Genetics for Musical Texts

IN CONTRAST TO THE EARLY INTEREST in troubadour and trouvère editions and the productive discussion it occasioned, few contemporary musicologists have explicitly theorized the problems of genetic criticism as they concern medieval monophony.<sup>172</sup> The most prolific author to do so is James Grier.<sup>173</sup> Grier's broad theorization lays much of the groundwork to enable my discussion, but inspiration came equally from outside musicology. The turn in medieval French and English literary study toward scribal profiles and describing copying itself as a craft incorporating artistic decisions has limited parallels in the study of medieval music. The subsection following this discussion of Grier's intervention and theorization will address the more recent turn in medieval French and English literary study toward scribal profiles and descriptions of copying as a craft. This perspective has limited parallels in the study of the troubadours, the point where this chapter will end.

Grier's background in Latin repertoires diverges from the heavy influence of literary scholarship common among musicologists writing on the trouvères, yet one of his principal concerns has been to muster a musicologically informed rebuttal to Joseph Bédier's relativistic view of critical editing. Bédier challenged the editorial

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<sup>172</sup> This is not at all true where texts *about* medieval music are concerned; see for example André Barbara, 'New and Revived Approaches to Text Criticism in Early Music Theory', *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991), pp. 57–73; and Sandra Pinegar, 'Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University (1991).

<sup>173</sup> James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 62–95, especially pp. 67–9; *idem*, 'The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), pp. 5–56; and *idem*, 'Lachmann, Bédier and the Bipartite Stemma: Towards a Responsible Application of the Common-Error Method', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 18 (1988), pp. 263–78.

optimism of the ‘Lachmannian’ editorial method of using common errors shared by manuscript witnesses of a text to organize the codices onto branches of a tree or *stemma codicum*.<sup>174</sup> These *stemmata* could in turn be used to resolve variants by pitting manuscripts against each other in order to establish a ‘critical’ text. Bédier’s critique struck at the root of the tree: any collection of manuscripts allows for a nearly infinite different number of possible *stemmata*. In his view, the choice of any of these becomes arbitrary and modern editors (at least in those dealing with Old French texts) tend toward the option that allows them the most freedom: a two-branch stemma.<sup>175</sup> Bédier confesses his own guilt in this regard when publishing his first edition of the *Lai de l’ombre* and shows that out of one hundred editions of texts in Old French, 98 are described as having a bipartite stemma.<sup>176</sup> This is the *loi surprenante* of double-branched trees, what Bédier would later call a *silva portentosa* that inspired him to propose a new, non-interventionist editorial method.<sup>177</sup>

In fact, Bédier’s critique is not against the editors who chose these bipartite stemmas but against the positivistic assumptions of the method. According to Bédier, Lachmannian editors realized in the course of their work that in building a tripartite stemma, they had created a monster: the mechanics of such an organization dictate a composite text without taking into account the merits of individual readings.<sup>178</sup> Yet the stemma itself is built on the author’s own analysis of individual readings. The

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<sup>174</sup> Joseph Bédier, ‘IV. Du classement des manuscrits’, in the preface to Jean Renart, *Le lai de l’ombre*, Joseph Bédier, ed., (2nd ed. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1913), pp. XXIII–XLV. Bédier’s own experience of the Lachmann method was mediated by the romanist Gaston Paris; his own research into the origins led him only as far back as Herman Sauppe’s *Epistola critica ad Godofredum Hermannum, philologorum principem: ante hos quinquaginta annos magisterii honores rite adeptum* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1841), cited in Joseph Bédier, ‘La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l’ombre*: Réflexions sur l’art d’éditer les anciens textes’, *Romania* 5 (1928), pp. 161–95 and 321–55 at p. 163, note 2.

<sup>175</sup> *Idem*, ‘Classement’, p. XXV.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.* pp. XXVII–VIII.

<sup>177</sup> *Idem*, ‘Tradition’, at p. 172.

<sup>178</sup> *Idem*, ‘Classements’, pp. XXXII–IV.

entire stemma could end up based on the misinterpretation of a few viable reading as errors; the system would then force the editor to discard dozens of correct readings based on a single editorial mishap. The possibilities of coincidence in scribal errors and of scribal correction from an already corrupt archetype compound the dangers.<sup>179</sup> The alternative, an edition constructed based on a bipartite stemma, leaves the editor free to mutilate the text according to his or her taste. Bédier's solution was to correct a single manuscript (judiciously chosen) as little as possible, that is, to leave every disputed reading in place except for those that could be proven to be erroneous.<sup>180</sup>

Grier turns Bédier's arguments on their head by proposing to embrace the bipartite stemma as the only scenario that can be proven: the existence of a tripartite stemma can be established only through negative evidence, the non-existence of shared *significant* errors.<sup>181</sup> The reason Grier believes it is possible that two sources could be copied from a common exemplar without sharing any errors is his narrow view of what constitutes 'error'. The minor substitutions that Bédier used to construct his initial bipartite stemma of the *Lai de l'ombre* would not count as significant errors for Grier, and here lies his fundamental objection to the view of critical editing common among romance philologists at the time of Bédier: that they relied on shared variants to establish stemmata where they should have used shared errors.

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<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.* pp. XXXV–VIII.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.* p. XLII.

<sup>181</sup> Grier, 'Lachmann and Bédier', p. 270. The clear terminological distinction between *errores separativi* ('Trennfehler') and *errores coniunctivi* ('Bindefehler') post-dates Bédier, receiving its formulation in Paul Maas, 'Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* xxxvii (1937), pp. 289–94 at pp. 289–90; this short essay later appeared as the Appendix to the second edition of *idem*, *Textkritik* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1949) first published as Alfred Gercke and Eduard Norden, eds. *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 1 part 2: 'Textkritik' (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927). The concepts, along with the importance accorded to significant errors in general ('Leitfehlern') had of course already been employed in practice by the time of this abstract formulation, see for example Maas' description of recension in his 'Textkritik', pp. 3–4 and his 'Eustathios als Konjekturekritiker' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* xxxv (1935), pp. 299–307, at pp. 299–300.

By raising the issue of what constitutes an error and what a variant, Grier launches two attacks on Bédier's model. First, the situation Bédier critiques is already a distortion of responsible critical editing: romance philologists had indeed been identifying 'obvious errors' in bad faith, in light of their own tastes. But the problem was less serious in classical textual criticism or biblical scholarship, where the stakes involved in editorial correction were much higher, academically as well as socially.<sup>182</sup> Yet Grier acknowledges that the problem of the bipartite stemma still exists: in his view, 'there is no such thing as an "obvious error"'.<sup>183</sup> Rather, he classifies all musical variants into 'good readings, reasonable competing readings, and clear errors', an updating of the three categories originally established by Lachmann.<sup>184</sup> The only possible way of distinguishing 'impossible readings' from the 'reasonable competing readings' is by determining whether they fit 'within the stylistic boundaries of the piece'.<sup>185</sup> Thus we arrive at Grier's second critique: the 'non-interventionists' approach Bédier champions, if it makes any corrections to the text at all, is still relying on the very same arbitrary decisions that Bédier criticizes when they are used to construct a *stemma codicum*. Bédier's second edition of the *Lai de l'ombre*, by Grier's logic, is still reliant on editorial taste for the corrections made to the 'good' manuscript chosen as the base text.<sup>186</sup> Grier can therefore insist on the inevitably critical (that is, subjective) nature of any editorial enterprise, even the most noninterventionist endeavours. For Grier, any editor claiming complete objectivity

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<sup>182</sup> See Grier, 'Lachmann and Bédier', p. 271; quote found in Grier, *Critical Editing*, p. 67.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30. See also Sebastiano Timpanaro on the humanistic precursors of Lachmann in his *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, with a *Presentazione* and *Postilla* by Elio Montanari (1963; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Turin: UTET, 2003), pp. 35–6, 43–4.

<sup>185</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, p. 31.

<sup>186</sup> This is an issue that Bédier acknowledges, but prefers the lower risk of unjustified intervention only where clear errors are concerned to that inherent in 'correcting' all variant readings; see Bédier, 'Classement', pp. XLII–III. Grier's argument thus rests primarily on his more optimistic view of the limited number of viable permutations of the stemma for a given work.

misrepresents the activity, while anyone presenting a musical text without corrections of any kind is guilty of ‘sheer dereliction of duty’.<sup>187</sup> To shirk the acceptance of the risks inherent in creating a critical edition, as the most extreme followers of Bédier do, stems from failure to recognize Grier’s first and fundamental point: ‘Editing is a branch of criticism.’<sup>188</sup>

Grier further adheres adamantly to the utility of the stemma as a tool in reconstructing a hypothetical exemplar, an insistence he had justified more fully in an earlier article relying on a considerable body of critical investigation into *stemmata* in response to Bédier.<sup>189</sup> As Bédier did, Grier prefers the bipartite stemma for the reason that all identification of error (in any of Lachmann’s three classes) already rests on the editor’s understanding of ‘the stylistic boundaries of the piece’.<sup>190</sup> This understanding, he believes, must then be used to identify all clear errors, which in turn are the only possible means of establishing the stemma. This theme of the identification of error and its relationship to variant is Grier’s closest point of contact with the preoccupations of troubadour and trouvère study, and this will be one of the points to be reconsidered in the context of *V* throughout the coming chapters.

On the grounds of his re-configuration of Lachmann’s three variant types, Grier is still more critical than Bédier of classical philologists who have dealt with vernacular, secular texts for using plausible variants in stemmatic discussions.<sup>191</sup> From his statement, it follows that a great deal of weight is placed on the identification of musical error (and on the definition of the term), a topic that continues to resurface in discussions of the troubadours and with which Bédier

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<sup>187</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, p. 180.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 180.

<sup>189</sup> *Idem*, ‘Lachmann and Bédier’, especially at pp. 266–71.

<sup>190</sup> *Idem*, *Critical Editing*, p. 31.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.* p. 79.

himself must have been familiar from his collaborations with Beck and Aubry.<sup>192</sup> Whether Grier's rehabilitation of the stemma for the purpose of editing musical works is a question beyond the scope of this thesis. Subsequent interdisciplinary approaches to the topic, the advent of computer technology and the application of mathematical modelling have brought the study of stemmatology a long way in new directions since Grier's book. Indeed, scholars who make the stemmatology of texts their primary object of study have continued to develop precisely the arguments Grier entertains.<sup>193</sup>

My own re-orientation from the study of musical texts to the study of music notators differs from Grier's turn toward the critical aspect of critical editing; in what follows, the scribe and the scribal attitude toward music, not the text or the work, is the new object of study.<sup>194</sup> This is not an edition, nor is it a critique (aesthetically or historically motivated) of the scribe's work. Rather, the intention is to learn how to interpret the repertoire from the scribe's own critical activity. My departure reflects the recent views in medieval literary criticism that have responded and reacted to the New Philology but have not quite reached musicological work on the *trouvères*.<sup>195</sup> In

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<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.* p. 65. See Aubry's negative conclusion on the possibility of identifying musical errors in troubadour and trouvère song in Aubry and Bédier, eds., *Croisade*, p. XXXIII and Christelle Chaillou-Amadiéu's recent resurrection of the question in the opening of her 'Philologie et musicologie: Les variantes musicales dans les chansons des troubadours', in Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiéu, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, and Fabio Zinelli, eds., *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: Textes et musiques du Moyen Âge*, Rencontres 281 (Paris: Garnier, 2018), pp. 69–95 at p. 69.

<sup>193</sup> For a summary of that research at the time of *Critical Editing*, see Michael Reeve, 'Stemmatic Method: 'Qualcosa che non funziona?', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September–1 October 1982*, *Bibliologia* 3–4, Peter Ganz, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 57–69; for problems in defining precisely what the archetype is, see *idem*, 'Reconstructing Archetypes: a New Proposal on an Old Fallacy', in Patrick Finglass, Christopher Collard, and Nicholas J. Richardson, eds., *Hesperos: Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry Presented to M.L. West on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 326–40. See also the wide range of methods and fields represented in Pieter van Reenen and Margot van Mulken, eds., *Studies in Stemmatology I and II* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 1996 and 2004).

<sup>194</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, pp. 6, 31, 36–7, 135–43, 180–83.

<sup>195</sup> See Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 1–10, especially pp. 7–9 for an overview; for the literary view, see Siegfried Wenzel, 'Reflections on (New) Philology', *ibid.*, pp. 11–18 and R. Howard Bloch, 'The New Philology', *ibid.*, pp. 38–58, especially at pp. 38–40 for the view of 'new' philology as old and pp. 47–58 for 'philology' as *philo-*



English and French literary scholarship, researchers such as Timothy Machan and Keith Busby have promoted the abandonment of the abstract text (an object increasingly seen as located only in performance) in favour of the study of ‘the work behind a document’ or (as nearly as possible) individual manuscripts, respectively.<sup>196</sup> These are the ‘works’ available to us, and it is from them that we have the most direct access to a literary-historical (or musical-historical) moment. If we then use an existing source to recuperate information about a lost manuscript, it is for that lost manuscript’s sake, not in the service of an over-arching original text. To situate *V* among its relatives is not to study the common songs; it is to study *V* itself.

There are thus crucial differences between my object of study (the scribe) and that of stemmatology (a hypothesized archetype). My attitude toward error differs as well: for the purposes of secular monophony, no such thing as ‘clear error’ can be established on stylistic grounds. What my work does inherit from Grier is first, the distinction between ‘graphical’ and ‘substantive’ alteration by scribes, something since discussed in nuanced and subtly divergent terms by Timothy Machan, and by

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*logoi*, particularly the love and suspicion of words’ potential for semantic accretion and proliferation. For the linguistic view, see Suzanne Fleischmann, ‘Philology, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text’, *ibid.*, pp. 19–37, especially at pp. 24–5, ‘From the Voice to the Text’ and pp. 35–7 for a summary of the move toward linguistic function rather than meaning, a concept already applied to medieval musicology by Leo Treitler in his ‘Paleography and Semiotics’, in Michel Huglo, ed., *Musicologie médiévale, notations et séquences, Actes de la table ronde du C.N.R.S. à l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes 6-7 septembre 1982, Études rassemblées par Michel Huglo* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1987), pp. 17–27; and for the historical view, see Lee Patterson, ‘On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies’, *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 87–108, *passim* and (particularly from a post-structuralist perspective) Gabriel Spiegel, ‘History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Middle Ages’, *ibid.*, pp. 59–86.

<sup>196</sup> ‘...the character of this work would depend on the physical and textual evidence of the manuscript, on the literary and cultural traditions that frame it and on which it draws, and on its relationship to other manuscripts...’, Timothy Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), p. 184; see also Chapter 6, ‘Middle English Textual Criticism’, pp. 177–93; Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, Faux Titre 221, 2 vols. (New York and Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), vol. 1, p. 2.

Avner Bahat and Gérard Le Vot in their edition of Blondel de Nesle.<sup>197</sup> For Machan, the medieval conception of a work was perhaps Platonic, but not idealist and certainly not lexical. ‘Humanistic’ textual criticism thus pursues the text at the expense of the work, since medieval scribes habitually altered the *verba* without affecting the *res*.<sup>198</sup>

The distinction further complicates Wulf Arlt’s differentiation between notation and the ‘chose notée’.<sup>199</sup> It is easy to notice scribal attempts at precision, but the musical object must be defined before its notation can be described as successfully ‘précisée’.<sup>200</sup> And does precision lie merely in representing the *verba* or does it wander dangerously close to a rigid, modern conflation of the *verba* with the *res*? For Bahat and Le Vot (heavily influenced by Zumthor), the problem was rather the nature of musical notation, an ‘outil chirurgical’, incapable of fully capturing the richness of medieval song in performance.<sup>201</sup>

Secondly, my work relies on Grier’s recognition that the stemma can be used to study scribes perhaps more fruitfully than to hypothesize originals.

This evidence illuminates not only the processes of transmission (that is, the techniques employed in the production of a particular witness) but also the musical practices that generated these distinctive variants.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Machan, *Textual Criticism*, Chapter 5 (‘Work and Text’), pp. 136–76; Avner Bahat and Gérard Le Vot, eds., *L’Œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge 24 (Paris: Champion, 1996), especially pp. 23–29.

<sup>198</sup> ‘If a medieval work was nonsubstantial, therefore, it was nonetheless in a sense fixed by the truths it was presumed to express. Since the mental conception of a *res* remains prior to the *verba* and is not affected in any important way by them, what was not fixed was the *text*.’ Machan, *Textual Criticism*, p. 142.

<sup>199</sup> Wulf Arlt, ‘À propos des notations pragmatiques: le cas du codex las Huelgas, Remarques générales et observations particulières’, *Revista de Musicología* 13 (1990), pp. 401–419 at p. 401.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 411–12 for Arlt’s particular usage of the words ‘préciser’ and ‘précision’.

<sup>201</sup> ‘Fondamentalement, l’écriture est, si l’on peut dire, un «outil chirurgical» handicapant par sa trop grande précision comparée à l’élasticité du musical.’ Bahat and Le Vot, *L’Œuvre lyrique*, p. 24.

<sup>202</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, p. 69. The two preceding sentences are also of interest:

The stemma, however, flows both ways.... it can also isolate distinctive readings in surviving witnesses at the bottom of its branches. The stemma can help to identify those variants peculiar to individual witnesses and groups of witnesses, and often show when these variants entered the tradition.

This point, that stemmatic analysis can be used in the service of the description of scribes and scribal processes, has rarely received more emphasis than it does in Grier's brief remark. He, like others concerned with the stemmatics of music manuscripts, examines the subject of scribal activity primarily through an editor's lens. For Leofranc Holford-Strevens, as for the other contributors to his co-edited volume on editions of early music, understanding scribes is useful to understanding originals and '[h]elpful, too is understanding of scribal habits even beyond paleography'.<sup>203</sup> It is clear Holford-Strevens considers it helpful primarily for the purposes of editing, not as a way of writing music history; it is rare to find descriptions of music scribes anywhere but as the background work for editions. Jason Stoessel is one of few to consider patterns in scribal behaviour as worthy objects of study for their own sake in a study closely bound up with theorization about oral transmission.<sup>204</sup>

My own focus on the scribe takes its point of departure not from Grier's work, nor even from Stoessel's, but from concerns among editors of medieval English literature that date back before the New Philology had been given a name. The contributors to the 1981 conference at the University of York on late medieval English literature held attitudes that, compared to the *apparatus critici* of trouvère editions from that decade, look cutting edge. Kate Harris's interest in comparing variants was to consider scribal activity as a kind of literary criticism and as evidence

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<sup>203</sup> Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Do Classical Principles Work?', in Theodor Dumitrescu, Karl Kügle, and Marnix van Berchum, eds., *Early Music Editing: Principles, Historiography, Future Directions* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 21–30 at p. 23. The same implication can be found in Maas, 'Textkritik', p. 7: 'Zur Entscheidung... muß berücksichtigt werden... welche Gattung von Verderbnissen in derselben Überlieferung am häufigsten nachweisbar ist'.

<sup>204</sup> 'It is from this viewpoint regarding the investigation of local (or localized) scribal process that my interest in the plausible reading stems...', Jason Stoessel, 'Scribes at Work, Scribes at Play: Challenges for Editors of the *ars subtilior*', in Dumitrescu, Kügle, and van Berchum, eds., *Early Music Editing*, pp. 49–75 at p. 58.

of poetic alterations to fit aesthetic tastes.<sup>205</sup> Of particular relevance to troubadour and trouvère studies is the realisation that the scribes were imposing formal criteria of their own: ‘The medieval editors...produce peculiarly rebarbative versions where continuous semantic units are broken down by the insertion of extra verbs, subjects and objects. A kind of semantic end-stopping is sought.’<sup>206</sup> In the words of Derek Pearsall,

the days are gone when a palaeographer could be dismissed as soon as his job of dating a manuscript was done, or a manuscript dismissed as soon as it was discerned to be of little value to ‘the critical edition.’ All this is changing, and literary scholars are learning the value of bad manuscripts: how in the work of interfering and meddling scribes, for instance, can be seen the activities of our first literary critics.<sup>207</sup>

The trend has borne fruit in studies of Middle English literature dealing with supposedly ‘bad’ manuscripts, as for example in the work of John Ivor Carlson, Daniel Wakelin, and David D’Avray.<sup>208</sup> Wakelin’s phrase ‘the craft of copying’ and inclusion of supposedly minor actions, such as the decision when and where to correct errors in that craft, is a welcome intervention into the vocabulary with which we discuss these issues.<sup>209</sup> However, it is D’Avray who expresses the point I am striving to demonstrate for trouvère notators most succinctly: ‘Contamination is a negative word, but the underlying reality was probably scribal intelligence.’<sup>210</sup> Ralph Hanna’s presentation of stemmatic investigation ‘as a transmission history, not as a tool that at

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<sup>205</sup> ‘I shall attempt to describe...the virtues of very bad texts and demonstrate the uses of textual criticism not, as is customary, to determine a text but rather to determine a medieval criticism, or rather *at best* to determine a medieval criticism’, Kate Harris, ‘John Gower’s “Confessio Amantis”: The Virtues of Bad Texts’, in Derek Pearsall, ed., *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study, Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 27–40 at p. 28.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1.

<sup>208</sup> John Ivor Carlson, ‘Scribal Intentions in Medieval Romance: A Case Study of Robert Thornton’, *Studies in Bibliography* 58 (2007–2008), pp. 49–71; Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Corrections and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); David D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>209</sup> Wakelin, *Scribal Corrections*, pp. 133–6.

<sup>210</sup> D’Avray, *Sermons*, p. 20.

most places has enabled us to edit the text’ and his rehabilitation of scribes and editors are perhaps the most authoritative contributions to the trend.<sup>211</sup>

Keith Busby has accomplished a similar philological study in a place and time closer to the *trouvères*, that of 12<sup>th</sup>- and 13<sup>th</sup>-century French narrative collections.<sup>212</sup> While he does take an interest in minor scribal errors and corrections, his larger claim for the scribes is not strictly intellectual but creative and formative: the scribe has the power to add and to destroy. For Busby, the versions of Chrétien de Troye’s romances that appear in F-Pn fr. 794 are ‘filtered by [the scribe] Guiot, rewritten in his own image, and rendered less poetic, divested on occasion of some of Chrétien’s favourite stylistic devices’.<sup>213</sup> Even scribes acting without aesthetic motivation were responsible for rewriting passages of text; thus, ‘[t]he delineation between scribe and *remanieur* is not always entirely clear’.<sup>214</sup> Passages where a certain scribe ‘tends towards *remaniement*’, Busby notes, ‘are all short enough to have been improvised during the copying process itself rather than to have required advanced planning’.<sup>215</sup> For D’Avray, scribal variants could arrive ‘through intelligent improvisation (rather than by mistake)’.<sup>216</sup> This ‘intelligent improvisation’ was no longer the ‘conjectural correction’ Grier and his predecessors sought so hard to mitigate in stemmatic investigation, but an activity to be appreciated and studied in its own right.<sup>217</sup> On more strictly theoretical turf, Timothy Machan has outlined just how thoroughly ‘humanistic criticism’ has tinted modern perceptions of the medieval ‘text’ as a

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<sup>211</sup> Hanna, *Pursuing History*, p. 87 and especially pp. 215–229.

<sup>212</sup> Busby, *Codex and Context* vol. 1, Chapter 2 (‘Varieties of Scribal Behaviour’), pp. 59–126 especially §II ‘The Wilful Scribe’, pp. 93–108.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>216</sup> D’Avray, *Sermons*, p. 24.

<sup>217</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, pp. 72–3.

lexical, ahistorical, and authoritative, even the perceptions of supposedly progressive philologists such as Bédier, Jerome McGann, and Pearsall.<sup>218</sup>

What all of these scholars hold in common are securely dated and localized manuscripts, and often copyists whose work has been identified and contextualized, even redactors and scribes whose names are known. This is certainly not the situation with *V*, or even with the trouvère chansonniers in general. Even in Keith Busby's examinations of Old French scribes of a relatively early period, the context of the redactions are generally well established.<sup>219</sup> In a situation where this information is tenuous, could a chronology of sources ever be established through traditional philological means? In light of this problem, a particularly useful endeavour would be separating habits that extend through a scribe's entire corpus from those he or she displays only when copying songs by specific authors or from particular exemplars.

The approach of separating scribes and authors through variant comparisons has an analogue in Elizabeth Aubrey's work on the troubadours. Though once again in pursuit of an authorial original, she blazes a remarkable trail in the investigation of scribal profiles when she isolates habits of individual scribes of troubadour melodies, particularly the characteristic regularisation by the notator of troubadour chansonnier *R* (F-Pn fr. 22543) from the stylistic tendencies of particular troubadours.<sup>220</sup> In doing so, she sets the nearest precedent in the scholarship of vernacular monophony for my work on *V*: her description of individual troubadour scribes informs her analysis of performance practice and the history of musical style as well as that of the composers. Where Aubrey stops short of a fully source-centric approach is to elide the scribe with all previous lost exemplars of the piece, creating a trichotomy between composer,

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<sup>218</sup> Machan, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 57, 61, 67–8.

<sup>219</sup> Busby, *Codex and Context*, *passim*, especially vol. 1, pp. 75–9.

<sup>220</sup> Aubrey, *Troubadours*, pp. 34–49, 147–9.

performers and notators, when in fact the relevant distinctions most accessible to us may be much further along the chronological line, between the notator of the extant sources and those of the lost copies. Just as Hendrik van der Werf does, Aubrey refers to a scribe's work without explicitly considering how likely it is that the copyists inherited their tendencies from a performance practice or prior written traditions.

Nicolas Bell's work on the Las Huelgas manuscript provides a welcome precedent for the work of defining a scribe's musical and notational personality while controlling for genre and exemplar. The Las Huelgas source was almost certainly copied from multiple exemplars, indeed multiple types of exemplar.<sup>221</sup> The object of inquiry then becomes the different 'levels of scribal intervention'; Bell is describing a 'house style' which consists of techniques of translating music from exemplars as well as the use 'a collection of signs...employed with more or less similar meaning in all the stylistically different strata of the codex'.<sup>222</sup>

Considering variants serves a very specific, in a way limited purpose, as we ask how much contact there was between different manuscript collections and what role individual scribes played in selection from and editing of pre-existing sources. For *V*, it is not only a question of how the notators edited their exemplars, but what kind of exemplars they had to hand in the first place.

Lest the following be perceived as an abuse of the stemmatic method, it is worth pointing out that the use of certain 'reasonable readings' as tools of filiation poses much less of a danger for this type of investigation than it does for Grier's or for classical philologists in general. It is, in a sense, irrelevant if a shared 'reasonable reading' happens to derive from the archetype (whatever that would mean for

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<sup>221</sup> Nicolas Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile*, Scriptorium Collection 7 (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), pp. 78–80.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.* p. 79.

trouvère song). The manuscripts that contain that reading still share a common source, in this case, the original (however many intermediate, lost sources might be implicated between that and the extant manuscripts). If we err in taking, hypothetically, manuscripts *A* and *B* to be related by a common source and *C* to be distinct from them, when in fact *A*'s and *B*'s shared readings all date back to the original, we are erring only in terms of chronology. *C* must have undergone some change (even if it was copied directly from the archetype) while *A* and *B*, even if removed from each other by different exemplars, are still closely related by their common similarity to the archetype. What is relevant to my work is how different scribes depict or alter common sources, not what those sources originally were.

The chronology of variants is, of course, important in order to know when what appears to be 'scribal alteration' is in fact original, misinterpreted in other sources. Much of my work will therefore concern graphical alterations (where the chronology can partly be surmised based on the history of notation) and alterations easier to explain in one direction than the other (as when a fairly complex fragment of music is elsewhere replaced by simple repeated notes). The only supposedly 'clear errors' possible in this repertoire, hypometrical and hypermetrical readings, are unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis.

*V* serves as an excellent test case for this newly circumscribed perspective on transmission history. Despite the total lack of knowledge about date, commission, and place of copying, there are mitigating factors that enable scribal examination. The sample size in the hand of each scribe is relatively large and most songs allow for comparison of a range of variants between multiple sources of diverse degrees of separation from *V*. The short length of the chanson as a genre makes the repertoire especially suited to this analysis; we are safe from the situation that scholars of



narrative find themselves in, where a single scribe can be found copying only a handful of discrete works.<sup>223</sup>

In what follows, two themes emerge: we will be exploring the various constraints on the music scribes, including the notated sources they had available, their possibly limited knowledge of the music, and the organization of the collection as a whole, evidently pre-determined by decisions made by the text scribes and other collaborators. At the same time, the more accurately we can guess the scribes' relationship to different types of musical sources, the more accurate our picture of their musical decisions becomes.

The final result will be to establish music notators as interpreters of how a piece should sound as well as how it should be represented. Leo Treitler expresses a similar view in his ontology of the musical work: a score and a performance can share the same 'ontological level' as the work itself, at least in the case of several of Chopin's solo piano works and in the Aquitanian Trope repertoire.<sup>224</sup> In work on vernacular song, the development of our understanding of orality in this tradition has biased the scholarship against the validity of the manuscript score as an object of study in its own right. Friedrich Gennrich's 'Repertoiretheorie' and van der Werf's rush to incorporate it into editorial method leaves us with an almost condescending view of scribes as capable only of technical error or exact copying, and a tendency to assess every reasonable reading as an improvised variant born out of singers'

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<sup>223</sup> See John Ivor Carlson's lament, 'it requires overwhelming evidence to defend anything more than the most banal assertions...it would assume much to attribute apparent tendencies to a single scribe...without first repeating this comparison across several other texts in the same hand', in his 'Scribal Intentions', at p. 50.

<sup>224</sup> Leo Treitler, 'History and Ontology of the Musical Work', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 51 (1993), pp. 483–97 at p. 495.

performances.<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, determining whether a scribe or a performer invented a melody, for van der Werf, seems tantamount to determining the worth of that melody, even if the possibility of that determination remained out of reach: ‘it is impossible to determine whether the deviation is exclusively due to a moment of scribal inattentiveness, whether it reflects actual performance practice, or whether it stems from the author himself’.<sup>226</sup>

This peculiar history of ideas stems from an inherited scholarly preoccupation with hypothesized transmission either by *Liederblätter* or via jongleurs, leaving disagreement and uncertainty as to what kind of musical collections, written or sung, immediately preceded the extant chansonniers.<sup>227</sup> It is the development of these preoccupations and their displacement of classical philology and its issues in the edition of trouvère and troubadour melody that motivates the overview in the following chapter.

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<sup>225</sup> For an example, see Gerard Le Vot, ‘The Music of the Troubadours and Trouvères’, in Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot, eds. *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: an Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York, NY and London: Garland, 1998), pp. 7–13 at p. 9.

<sup>226</sup> van der Werf, ‘Musical Introduction’, in Deborah Howard Nelson and Hendrik van der Werf, eds., *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle* (New York and London: Garland, 1985), pp. xxv–xxxviii at pp. xxxiv–v.

<sup>227</sup> For the earliest theory of transmission, see Gustav Gröber, ‘Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours’, *Romanische Studien* 2 (1877), pp. 337–672, especially at p. 342; for the major challenge to this view, see Friedrich Gennrich, ‘Die Repertoire-Theorie’, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 66 (1956), pp. 81–108 at pp. 84–5, 87–9, 98–9, for critiques of Gröber and pp. 105–6 for the new paradigm. This set the stage for developments in the second half of the century including van der Werf’s ‘Chansons as Creations’, pp. 64–6, and Sylvia Huot ‘Scribal Practice in Lyric Anthologies: Structure, Format, and Iconography of Trouvère’ Chansonniers’, in her *Song to Book*, pp. 46–82.

From ‘Blätter’ to ‘Bücher’ to ‘Song to Book’:  
20th-century Paradigms of Troubadour and Trouvère  
Transmission

ANY SYSTEM OF STEMMATIC CRITICISM based on common error and variant contains, explicitly or not, a background theory of how errors and variants come into being in the first place. My aim in Part II of this thesis is to put aside once and for all various rigid paradigms brought forward to explain *V*'s transmission. Before considering the evidence to be used for this goal, it will be necessary to outline what those paradigms have been. Descriptions of notators working either purely from copying, from memory, from *jongleur* performances, or from invention can and have been combined into more sophisticated models but these newer models inevitably bear traces of the specific development of transmission theory surrounding trouvère and troubadour sources. The gradual progression from author to performer to scribe follows a certain logic, but also lends itself to unhelpful dichotomies such as those between authentic and inauthentic readings, or written versus performed renditions. The evidence chosen is presented in Chapter 5 in order to explode some of these oppositions.

## 1. Approaches to Genetics: Ordering and Contents

Attempts to relate *V*'s musical offerings to those of other chansonniers have stumbled over rigid juxtapositions: orality is set up in contrast to written tradition, central sources are contrasted to marginal, while unreliable scribes are to be weeded out from the more reliable. *V*'s case shows, in microcosm, the problems of genetic research as applied to the transmission of melody in this repertoire. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the source was interpreted as a 'central' source in the stemmatic work of Eduard Schwan, due to its shared contents with the *KNXP* Group; following his analysis of common errors in *KNPX*, Schwan even suggested that for a number of individual lyrics, *V* stood much nearer to the original than the other sources.<sup>228</sup> In describing the various sections of *V*, the traditional mode of inquiry was to establish the nature and ordering of its contents. In fact, the compilation of texts gives us little insight into the workings of the music notators, as it must have been established by the time of their work. However, it does give us the constraints within which the music scribes must have operated when searching for songs within their exemplars. Furthermore, it formed the bedrock of evidence for the earliest stemmas proposed for trouvère chansonniers.

### 1.1 Philological Work on Ordering and Schwan's Stemma

The first investigation of this kind into chansonniers was launched by Gustav Gröber for the Occitan and Julius Brakelmann for the Old-French sources, both of whom

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<sup>228</sup> See Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, pp. 112–113. Also, 'Wenn wir die Ergebnisse dieser Betrachtung zusammenfassen, so sehen wir, dass *V* dem Original viel näher steht, als gemeinsamen Vorlage teilt, sowohl in Bezug auf den Bestand wie auch in der Anordnung der Lieder.' *Ibid.*, p. 114.

identified similarities between various groups of chansonniers.<sup>229</sup> The most significant contribution here for our purposes is Brakelmann's grouping of *K*, *N*, *P* and *X*, whose shared ancestry remains unchallenged.<sup>230</sup> Brakelmann's view of *V* derived primarily from his consideration of the religious contrafacts of *V*<sup>2</sup>, relevant to his particular interest in *C* (CH-Beb 389), the only textual concordance for many of *V*<sup>2</sup>'s pieces.<sup>231</sup> Brakelmann's insight into the main body of the collection was therefore limited. Schwan's 1886 summary of trouvère chansonniers was by far the most comprehensive and influential contribution of the 19th century; he established ordering as the second part of his three-pronged method for comparing trouvère manuscripts and introduced Lachmann's 'common-error method' into trouvère source history.<sup>232</sup> It was he who first attempted to assign *V* a place in the broader history of chansonnier production. His three avenues of inquiry corroborated each other: the contents of each volume, the ordering of the songs, and divergent textual readings. In all three of these areas, *V* shows an affinity for the so-called *KNPX* group. It is only when musical considerations are brought into play that *V* begins to be considered a peripheral source, as we shall see below.

Among other similarities, the members of the *KNPX* group share roughly the same sequence of songs. In his list, Schwan noted that in all 207 poems share their

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<sup>229</sup> Gustav Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', *Romanische Studien* 2 (1877), pp. 337–672; Jules Brakelmann, 'Die dreiundzwanzig altfranzösischen Chansonniers in Bibliotheken Frankreichs, Englands, Italiens und der Schweiz', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 42 (1868), pp. 43–72.

<sup>230</sup> Brakelmann, 'Altfranzösischen Chansonniers', at pp. 51–4.

<sup>231</sup> *Idem*, p. 46: 'Die 22 Lieder, die Lavallière 59 und B. 389 gemeinsam haben, zeigen nur geringe Varianten, so dass eine gemeinsame Quelle beider Handschriften angenommen werden muss, wenn wir nicht gar annehmen wollen, dass dem Schreiber des Manuscripts Lavallière die berner Handschrift vorlag. Dieses, nicht das umgekehrte Verhältniss würde anzunehmen sein wegen des höheren Alters der berner Handschrift.'

<sup>232</sup> Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, pp. 96–9.

ordering between *V* and the *KNPX* group.<sup>233</sup> Using strict criteria for identifying agreement in ordering, counting inversion of any two songs and any interpolation of a song as a disagreement, I arrive at a slightly different number, 165 songs.<sup>234</sup> In all, 162 songs in *V* follow the arrangement in *K* exactly, while only 112 follow the arrangement in *N*. This is mostly due to 43 songs which appear in the same sequence in *V* and *K* and are entirely missing from *N*. The discrepancy could be explained by one or more missing gatherings between fols. 8 and 9 of *N*, as proposed by Schwan and reaffirmed by Wallensköld in one of the earliest editions of Thibaut de Navarre's works.<sup>235</sup> The missing gatherings might easily have contained songs 17–26 and 28–60.

Ultimately, ordering cannot determine whether *V* is more closely related to *K* or to *N*, nor would it necessarily be revealing if it could. Hans Spanke, as we will shortly see, has thrown the possibility of establishing filiation within the *KNPX* group into serious doubt.<sup>236</sup> The evidence is, in any case, equivocal: there are twelve instances where *V* follows *K* against *N*, and eleven instances where *V* follows *N* against *K*. In addition, there are six additional songs in *V* that follow the same sequence as in *N* but are separated by the insertion of unica that appear only in *V*. Finally, there are an additional three pairs of songs that are swapped from their order

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<sup>233</sup> *Idem*, p. 113.

<sup>234</sup> Songs 1–26, 28–57, 60–77, 78–9, 81–4, 85–98, 99–104, (only in *N*, 99–102 in *K*), 105–12, 114–16, 159–63, 172–4, 175–7, 183–4, 185–97, 198–201, 202–11, 216–28, 229–31, 234–5, 261–2, 263–6 (only in *N*, *K* interpolates), 269–76 (only in *N*, *K* skips), are found with the same ordering in at least one of the *KNPX* sources. If interpolations in *V* are ignored and we count instances where three consecutive songs in *V* can be found in the same sequence in *K* or *N* but spread out by interpolations there, the number is higher. For the purpose of discussing ordering, songs will be referred to according to their number in my own catalogue for *V* in Appendix 1.

<sup>235</sup> Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, pp. 96–99; Axel Wallensköld, *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, Roi de Navarre* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925), p. 97.

<sup>236</sup> Hans Spanke, *Eine altfranzösische Liedersammlung: der anonyme Teil der Liederhandschriften KNPX* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1925). Neither Spanke nor subsequent scholars have challenged the fundamental similarities of these manuscripts or *V*'s relation to them in terms of contents, ordering, and textual similarities.

in *K* and *N* but still at least appear juxtaposed in *V*. Adding all of these songs to the 184 that follow *K* exactly, we arrive at Schwan's figure of 207 songs that match the ordering of *K* and/or *N*. The number of all shared contents between *V* and *K/N*, regardless of ordering, is 228. Most of these additional 21 songs are witnessed by numerous sources outside the *KNPX* group. To address the question of whether *V* reordered its exemplar or simply copied some songs from different sources, Schwan needed to turn to the third method, the comparisons of textual readings (*Lesarten*).

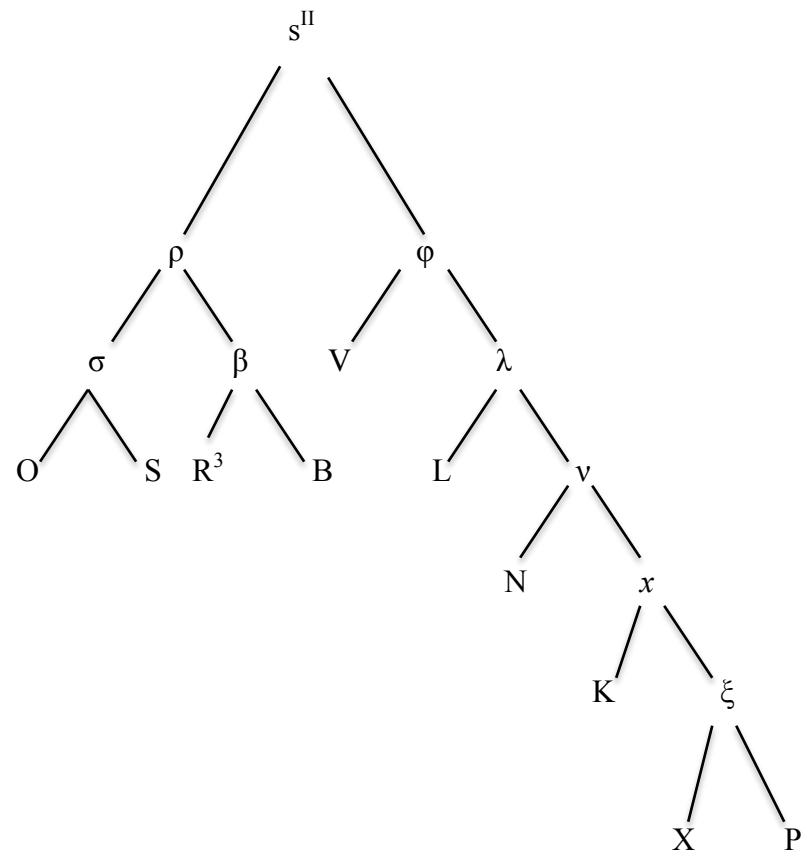
The consideration of textual variants adds considerable nuance to Schwan's account of the relationships between *KNPX* and *V*, though his subsequent conclusions rely on dated assumptions. By providing examples of errors found in *KNPX*, but not present in *V*, he argued for a more direct link between *V* and the ultimate goal of his study, the *Original*.<sup>237</sup> Schwan also assessed the insertions in *K* and *N* not found in *V*. These tend to be attributed to more recent authors, and Schwan suggested *V*'s exemplar was compiled before these poets were active, though he simultaneously dated *V* to later in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In his stemma, therefore, Schwan placed the *V* exemplar on a higher branch of the tree than *KNPX*, deriving from the putative source,  $\phi$ . As the stemma depicts, this source in turn was copied to produce  $\lambda$ , nearest the common ancestor of *KNPX*.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, pp. 113–15.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.* p. 171.

Figure 4.1: Schwan's Stemma for the "s<sup>II</sup> Manuscript Family (re-created from p. 171 of *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*)



As in many sources, the songs in *V* are roughly grouped according to author. In *KNPX*, attributions are given in rubrics at the beginning of the first song of each author's section. In addition to noticing the lack of attributions in *V*, Schwan also identified that *V*'s divergences from the ordering in *KNPX* cut across these shared groupings. In addition to swapping some author sections, *V* even removes whole sequences of pieces from one 'author section' only to place them after another.<sup>239</sup> This disruption of the authorial groupings is neither jarring nor difficult to explain, due to the complete lack of attributing rubrics in *V*. Clearly, argued Schwan, the compiler of *V* was unaware of the groupings, or deliberately neglected them in the

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.* p. 113.



process of assembling the volume. From this information, Schwan concluded that the compiler of *V* lacked interest in literary history and took a purely aesthetic interest in the songs.<sup>240</sup> The re-ordering across author sections presumably occurred between *V*'s exemplar ( $\phi$ ) and *V*. *K* and *N* then made much smaller alterations to the ordering of  $\phi$ , which consisted in moving certain songs to and from the anonymous section of unattributed pieces, an issue subsequently treated in more detail by Hans Spanke.<sup>241</sup>

## 1.2 From Spanke's *Der anonyme Teil* to Gennrich's 'Repertoiretheorie'

Spanke's edition of the anonymous part of *KNPX* (what he referred to as ' $K^2N^2P^2X^2$ ') did more than fill out the detail Schwan glossed over. His work shed doubt on Schwan's entire method, without challenging the close relationship of the four sources *per se*. For Spanke, even before the question of oral transmission entered the picture, the rapid circulation of songs and their supposed independent proliferation on lost rolls prior to their collection in the '*Liederbücher*' rendered the goal of a secure stemma unattainable.<sup>242</sup> Referencing Bédier's criticisms of Lachmann's followers, Spanke offers concrete examples of independent errors contradicting Schwan's stemma, as well as citing the possibility of contamination (indeed, part of the difficulty is differentiating contamination from independent error).<sup>243</sup> Spanke takes the familiar Lachmannian precept (that reasonable variants provide equivocal evidence and must be corrected by use of the stemma) and pushes it past its breaking point. Like Bédier, he points out the danger of multiple, variable redactions

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<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.* p. 246.

<sup>241</sup> Spanke, *Anonyme Teil*, pp. 264–7, 269–71.

<sup>242</sup> 'Auch in subjektiver, praktischmethodischer Hinsicht hat unter solchen Umständen das Stemma nur einen relativen Wert.' *Ibid.* p. 274.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 274–5.

attributable to the author.<sup>244</sup> Given what Spanke knew of contamination and what he believed about the likelihood that multiple authorial *Pergamentblätter* had once existed, any and all acceptable readings found in the extant sources could descend from an alternative originally invented by the author.<sup>245</sup> Spanke therefore turns primarily to codicology and to the ordering of songs in the extant collections when establishing filiation and leaves the comparison of variants to one side. He considers the establishment of a stemma codicum that would be valid for each song, based on shared errors to be ‘untunlich’.<sup>246</sup>

In addition to these general methodological points, Spanke points out a number of specific errors on Schwan’s part. Some of these relate to the examination of variants, where Schwan had located errors in only two sources, when in fact they could be found in three (through mere oversight, or perhaps bias, the Bédierist argument is as relevant here as ever).<sup>247</sup> Most important is Schwann’s ignorance of a crucial codicological point, a lacuna in *K* and *N* corresponding perfectly to a gathering break in each source. The songs Schwan had labeled c–u found only in *X* could therefore not be used to differentiate *X* from *K* and *N*. The piece that precedes song ‘c’ in *X* is found truncated in both *K* and *N*, in slightly different places (verses 39 and 5, respectively).<sup>248</sup> The truncation occurs at the break between Gatherings 19 and 20 in *K* and Gatherings 18 and 19 in *N*. Gathering 19 of *N* then resumes with another song not found in *K* and finally returns to *K*’s ordering. Spanke notes also the similarities in decoration between *K* and *N*, as well as their otherwise similar ordering and the near synchronicity of their gathering structure (the second gathering of *N* is

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<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.* p. 276 and Bédier, ‘Classement’, at p. XXXVII.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.* p. 274 and above for Spanke’s adherence to Gröber’s theory of *Liederblätter*.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.* p. 276.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.* p. 277.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.* p. 266.

missing so that its 18th gathering would presumably have been its 19th, as in *K*). From this he argues that both were prepared at the same place and time, and that the missing gathering in both must be attributed to an oversight in the delivery system. Due to this accident, two gatherings almost identical in terms of contents failed to reach the manuscript's 'buyer' (*Besteller*).<sup>249</sup> Spanke presumably believed the copied gatherings were mislaid prior to binding. It is this circumstance more than examination of variants that leads Spanke to unite *K* and *N* on his corrected stemma, though it cannot establish the placement of *X* in relation to them.<sup>250</sup>

Numerous difficulties in establishing filiation within the  $K^2N^2P^2X^2$  group still remain for Spanke. Schwan had already noted that a number of songs found in  $K^2$  might be found with author attributions in other sources and offered the explanation (accepted by Spanke) that the scribe simply lacked the literary-historical interest to pursue the ascriptions. This is of particular relevance to *V*: a number of the songs found with author ascriptions in  $N^1$  and without in  $K^2$  (87, 90–92, and 140 by Spanke's numbering) are also found in our source.<sup>251</sup> The existence of these songs without author attributions in *K* (and, above all their appearance in *V*) leads Spanke to posit a specific process of contamination, where (despite *K*'s primary filiation) *K*'s scribe consulted an exemplar shared with *V* but not with  $N^2$ .<sup>252</sup> This would be in keeping with later unica in *K*, which Spanke considers were assembled by the *K* scribe in order to amplify the manuscript, and re-ordered more-or-less alphabetically to remedy the lack of author attributions.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.* p. 267. Spanke's ideas of the process of commission and production are never made explicit; it is possible he was already aware of the co-ordinating activities of the *libraire*.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.* p. 278.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.* p. 273.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.* p. 275.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.* p. 282.

Though *V* lacks these unica, it does contain four of the songs in *K*<sup>2</sup> mixed in with its own unica, three of them in the same order as in *K*<sup>2</sup> (Spanke's 187 and 190–192 = 260–263 in *V*). This complicates matters both for *K*<sup>2</sup>*N*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*X*<sup>2</sup> and Spanke, and for our consideration of *V*. How much of the latter source actually shared an exemplar with *K*? And was *K* alone in consulting multiple earlier collections or might *V* have done the same? These questions form the crux, prompting the cross-comparison of codicology, ordering and melodic variants in *V* to be conducted below.

Spanke's broader theoretical point amounts to the argument that the proliferation of fragmentary sources clouds the stemmatic exercise beyond all redemption. This view was appropriated and strengthened in the revised model of transmission proposed by Friedrich Gennrich and developed by Hendrik van der Werf. In the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the paradigm proposed by Gustav Gröber had dominated the discourse about the transmission of troubadour and trouvère song.<sup>254</sup> Gröber divided transmission into two stages. The first period started from the troubadours' own flourishing when, Gröber believed, they employed ink and parchment as part of the compositional process to stabilize (*fixieren*) their musical and poetic thoughts. This era was characterized by the circulation of songs individually in easily-transportable written form on sheets of parchment, called *breus de pergamina* in one tornada and dubbed 'Liederblätter' by Gröber.<sup>255</sup> The second period saw the collection of these sheets and rolls into larger collections, the *Liederbücher* some of which survive to the present day in the form of the chansonniers (Gröber follows his analysis with detailed descriptions and evaluations of each of the troubadour

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<sup>254</sup> Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen', p. 342.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 338 and 342.

chansonniers). Both Schwan and Spanke had this model in mind when developing their stemmatic arguments regarding the trouvère collections.

By the time of Spanke's *Anonymer Teil*, Friedrich Gennrich was already staking out an alternative position which was to supersede that of Gröber. The lack of discoveries of any *Liederblätter* in Old French had already been a topic of puzzlement for Schwann, who still asserted that such *Liederblätter* had nonetheless existed in 'France' (*Frankreich*).<sup>256</sup> Gennrich, citing first of all this lack of evidence, denied the possibility that vernacular monophony could have been transmitted primarily in written form, arguing instead for extensive networks of oral transmission.<sup>257</sup> Gröber was of course aware of the existence of *joglars* and *jongleurs* and acknowledged the co-existence of oral transmission, but assumed that the troubadours and trouvères (educated in writing as he believed they were) must have left records of their work. Gennrich most systematically refuted this position in a 1956 article where he proposed a *Repertoiretheorie* to rival the 'sogen[annte] Liederblätter-Theorie'.

He attacked Gröber on several fronts. First, Gennrich argues against the literacy of the trouvères.<sup>258</sup> The medieval biographies Gröber had relied on, which do indeed claim literary education for each of the troubadours in turn, are completely formulaic, each providing a variation on the theme of literary praise for their subject, for example *saup ben lezer e chantar*, *saup ben trobar e cantar* or *amparet ben letras* for Piere Cardinal, Guillaume IX, and Arnaut Daniel, respectively.<sup>259</sup> Secondly, he deploys evidence from the songs themselves where, thanks to the existence of *envois* and *tornadas*, he can easily claim that the incidence of performers on hand and ready

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<sup>256</sup> Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, p. 263.

<sup>257</sup> Gennrich, 'Die Repertoire-Theorie', pp. 81–108 at pp. 100–101.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.* p. 82.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.* p. 87.

to transmit songs through sound outstripped opportunities to inscribe music in parchment by far; indeed, according to Gennrich's reading, many of the *envois* demonstrate that even literate troubadours wrote their songs down only when no messenger happened to be available. Finally, Gennrich's comparison of the extensive variants ('weit gehende Abweichungen') convinced him of the implausibility of autograph copies.<sup>260</sup> In lieu of scattered leaves collected into books, Gennrich proposed that the first trouvère song 'collections' were the repertoires of individual singers, who learned pieces sometimes from the mouth of the first messenger to whom the composer had entrusted them, sometimes through longer strings of oral transmission. The peripatetic lifestyle of these jongleurs enabled the songs to travel long distances within a generation, or simply criss-cross frequently within a fairly narrow region. Presumably, multiple singers would include the same song in their repertoire because, '[d]as Mittelalter kannte keinen Schutz geistigen Eigentums'.<sup>261</sup>

This account of the transmission process had a considerable impact on musicology. The model reappears in Johann Schubert's monograph on trouvère chansonnier *R*, one of the few detailed examinations of *V*'s extreme variants from the *KNPX* group.<sup>262</sup> Schubert's manuscript study has in turn coloured perceptions of *V* throughout the remainder of the century by treating it primarily as one of *R*'s closest neighbours. Meanwhile, Gröber's argument and Gennrich's critique have more recently been re-examined in light of a wider variety of textual evidence by Amelia van Vleck, who paints a more complex picture of the process.<sup>263</sup> We would

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<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.* p. 99.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.* p. 105.

<sup>262</sup> Johann Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. nat. fr. 1591: kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R* (Frankfurt am Main: [N.p.], 1963).

<sup>263</sup> Amelia van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1991), pp. 56–60.

furthermore be justified in questioning how relevant formulaic dedications in Occitan and imitated in Old French can possibly be for the trouvères in the first place. What is unquestionable is the impact Gennrich had at the time of writing; his work was read, and in the case of Hendrik van der Werf, it would seem it was read particularly closely.

A paradox of Gennrich's writing was that in spite of his successful challenge to the old model of transmission, he adhered more dogmatically than almost any other scholar to the ideal of critically editing not only trouvère texts, but melodies as well. In contrast to Aubry's and Beck's hesitant corrections and dogged adherence to the 'best text method', Gennrich believed strongly in the existence of recognisable musical errors. His disciple, Werner Bittinger, critiqued Aubry for his lack of critical method and Gennrich himself eventually claimed to be able to establish a critical version of the melody with equal 'if not greater' certainty than the text.<sup>264</sup> His system of identifying error relied in large part on certain formal connections between text and music that van der Werf later rejected and it was this latter author who proposed the more relativistic view of error that most contemporary scholars have inherited.

The impact of Gennrich's view was such that nearly thirty years later, van der Werf could proclaim oral transmission as the up-to-date consensus view.<sup>265</sup> In describing the march of scholarship, van der Werf must have been referring in part to his own research. Not long after Gennrich's proposal of transmission by *Repertoire*,

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<sup>264</sup> Werner Bittinger, *Studien zur musikalischen Textkritik des mittelalterlichen Liedes* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1953), pp. 3–10; Friedrich Gennrich, ed., *Altfranzösische Lieder* 2 vols. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1955–6), vol. 1, p. XIV.

<sup>265</sup> 'It is now rather widely accepted that, at least initially, trouvère songs were exclusively disseminated by word of mouth... Scholars gradually came to realize that most variants can be explained more easily as having come about in an oral than in a written dissemination'. Nelson and van der Werf, *Andrieu Contredit d'Arras*, p. 23.

van der Werf proposed his own theory of how Gennrich's *Spielleute*, the jongleurs, must have affected the melodies they conveyed from invention to manuscript:

...the different versions of a chanson present that chanson as it was performed by different jongleurs who had learned the chanson by rote either directly or indirectly from the trouvère himself... It was normal for a jongleur to perform the way he thought that particular chanson ought to be performed and we should not pass judgment on a jongleur who invented part of a melody or even an entire one.<sup>266</sup>

Gennrich's new model was thus to have an enormous impact on the edition of songs and on melodic comparison. For van der Werf, any melody that comes down to us, however divergent from its fellow manuscripts and however irregular its patterns of repetition, could represent a valid performance.

### 1.3 Giving Voice to Songbooks: *Vocalité* Applied to Written Collections

Scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century offered a more nuanced picture of the changing motivations behind chansonnier organization. Sylvia Huot has examined the 13<sup>th</sup>-century construction of the author as a persona within lyric collections, and the ascendancy of the lyric 'I' as a unifying presence.<sup>267</sup> Her work shows that the author divisions shared by many chansonniers had become a standard way of organizing any song-book by the third quarter of the century. At the same time, indexes, alphabetically organized volumes, and chansonniers divided by genre all began to appear around this time. Special emphasis has been given to the shift away from author-attributions and towards generically divided collections by scholars working on the development of the *formes fixes*.<sup>268</sup> By the time of *V*'s commission, the sequence of songs in *KNPX* might have looked like an old-fashioned system.

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<sup>266</sup> van der Werf, 'Chansons as Creations', p. 64.

<sup>267</sup> Huot, *From Song to Book*, esp. her discussion of TrouvO at pp. 74–80.

<sup>268</sup> Doss-Quinby and Samuel Rosenberg, 'Introduction: e. *The principle of organization by genre*', in *idem.* eds. and trans., *Douce 308*, pp. LVIII–LIX. Battelli, 'Antologie poetiche', at pp. 158–65.



Did *V* retain this ordering merely out of convenience, due to the exemplars it used? Judith Peraino has convincingly argued that the inclusion and the placement of certain author sections served as a political statement in the context of chansonniers.<sup>269</sup> At the same time, her emphasis on ‘owner production’ and ‘the proximity of the scribes to...whomever had the creative task of designing and compiling the contents’ easily explains the idiosyncratic orderings of particular manuscripts and changes in plan during the process of compilation.<sup>270</sup>

This is a tempting line of reasoning to apply to *V*. It certainly seems a likely explanation for some of the problems we saw in Part I surrounding the relationship between the different works found in *V*<sup>2</sup> and the relation of that miniature codex to the secular chansonnier. It might also explain the lack of author attributions and the disintegration of the authorial organization as the book progresses. There is certainly enough room near *V*’s writing blocks to allow for marginal attributions of the type found in *K*, *N*, *M*, or *a* (though not the author portraits found in those last two sources or the in-line rubrics of *R* and *A*). A tentative hypothesis to be tested against any information that may come to light about *V*’s early owners might posit that the original plan of the ordered contents did involve rubricated attributions and attempts to model the book after other chansonniers of the same type. A change in patron, preference, or fashion then eradicated the need for rubrics or elaborate initials at author-divisions; for convenience, the planned ordering was left in place, but abandoned for the last few gatherings. This certainly would be one of several instances of changing compilational plans for *V* (as the swapping between the secular and religious sections of the manuscript demonstrates). This kind of compilational

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<sup>269</sup> Peraino, *Giving Voice*, pp. 139–45.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

metamorphosis is known elsewhere in the chansonniers as well, above all in the case of *M*.<sup>271</sup> A more daring theory would be that *V* was planned as a compilation not of different authors, but of different sources. The reappearance of multiple chansons and of multiple authors at irregular intervals throughout the collection could indicate that the whole book is a reunification of multiple fragmentary exemplars. Gustav Gröber's assumption that all chansonniers were assembled from *Liederblätter* described precisely such a scenario, and it is perhaps Gröber's lingering shadow that provokes caginess in trouvère scholars when the topic of lost sources arises. Yet the hypothesis of chansonnier fragments deserves to be considered on its own terms without being employed as a belated defence of Gröber. Gröber's model worked forward from composition, to *Liederblätter*, to *Liederbücher*. On the contrary, the evidence of *V* points backwards, from (evident) compilation towards some form of prior musical transmission. The purpose of these putative lost fragments would likely have been preparation for the luxury volumes, not aiding in composition or performance and not necessarily descending from any authorial original.

### 1.3 Editorial Considerations

This theorisation points toward the production of new editions as its natural end-point, and many of the authors just discussed did undertake editorial projects. However lingering blind-spots and the practicalities of editing resulted in a number of publications that significantly distort the evidence of the manuscripts. The most widespread issue is the treatment of words and music as separate entities. Fortunately, we have left behind the days of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when text-only editions were

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<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155–6.

the norm.<sup>272</sup> Still, text and music have still been treated separately even within the same project, sometimes published in different volumes (Lepage's 1994 edition of Blondel de Nesle's lyrics and Le Vot and Bahat's musical supplement) or relegated to different sections of the same volume (Deborah Howard Nelson and van der Werf's Adam de la Halle edition from 1985).<sup>273</sup> This separation tends to be a hallmark of single-author volumes; single-manuscript editions were frequently undertaken for primarily musical reasons, and late-20<sup>th</sup>-century anthologies of trouvère song tend toward the other extreme of including music where at all possible (sometimes relying on contrafaction) and editing only a small proportion of songs that have been transmitted without music.<sup>274</sup>

Another distortion of the evidence comes from methods of textual criticism.

Even after the Lachmannian drive to recover the 'original' gave way to best-text

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<sup>272</sup> Early text-only editions that still have never been supplemented by a new attempt with music include Alain Lerond, *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Couci (fin du XIIe-début du XIIIe siècle), Édition critique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France; Rennes: Bahon-Rault, 1964) and Georg Steffens, *Die Lieder des Troveors Perrin von Angicourt* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1905). A bilingual text-only edition of Thibaut de Champagne's lyrics appeared without music fairly recently, Kathleen J. Brahney, ed. and trans. *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature vol. 41 Series A (New York, NY and London: Garland 1989). This lack of a music edition for Thibaut's lyrics has only just been rectified in a new French edition: Christopher Callahan, Marie-Geneviève Grossel, and Daniel E. O'Sullivan eds. and trans., *Thibaut de Champagne: Les chansons: Textes et mélodies*, Champion Classiques: Moyen Âge 46 (Paris: Champion, 2018). As recently as 2001, Barbara N. Sargent-Baur brought out a lyric-only collection in the context of a complete works edition of Philippe de Rémi's romances and lyrics. In justifying her choice, she made reference to previous musical anthologies containing the melodies for the songs. See Sargent-Baur ed. and trans., 'Songs' in *Jehan et Blonde, Poems, and Songs of Philippe de Rémi; edited from Paris BNF fr. 1588, Paris BNF fr. 24006, and Paris BNF fr. 837* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 515–551 at p. 517.

<sup>273</sup> Yvan G. Lepage, ed., *L'Œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle: Textes, Éditions critique, avec introduction, notes et glossaire par Yvan G. Lepage* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1994); Bahat and Le Vot, *L'Œuvre lyrique*; Nelson and van der Werf, *Lyrics of Adam de la Halle*.

<sup>274</sup> As acknowledged by Samuel Rosenberg: 'music is more prominent in this collection than it is in the manuscript sources', Rosenberg, 'Introduction' in Rosenberg, Le Vot, and Switten, *Music of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 5. His earlier collaboration, Rosenberg, ed., *Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères*, music edited and with an introduction by Hans Tischler, (London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981) and the French version of the same, Rosenberg and Tischler, eds., *Chansons des trouvères: Chanter m'estuet*, eds., with the collaboration of Marie-Geneviève Grossel, *Lettres Gothiques 52* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, Librairie Générale Française, 1995) take a similar music-heavy approach. Going further to the extreme are the more comprehensive editions prepared by musicologists, van der Werf, ed., *Trouvère-Melodien*, 2 vols., Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi vols. 11–12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977–9) and Tischler's *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies* which both contain exclusively songs for which music is preserved.

editions, improving on any given manuscript version has remained a serious goal. The theories of transmission in trouvère scholarship since the 1960s have pushed even further toward a more conservative, Bédierist approach to music than traditional theories of music editing normally recommend. In practice, editors have remained interventionist and rule-bound, especially where *V* is concerned. Even the ‘best text’ approach itself tends to create an unwarranted hierarchy of manuscripts in which the cleanest, easiest to edit sources are most used.<sup>275</sup> This is also yet another area where the separate treatment of music and text comes to the fore. Different ‘best texts’ are sometimes selected for music and for text, resulting in a composite picture that, at best is a historical fiction, and at worst compromises the unity of words and melody, giving the impression of errors made by the music scribe.<sup>276</sup>

Even in synoptic editions these same hierarchies become apparent through interventionist decisions and, more subtly, through the order in which manuscripts are presented. Tischler’s approach in his *Trouvère Lyrics* would provide only one reading of a melody in full, with only particular moments of divergence from other sources given in the staves above it; the result typically privileges *M*’s readings over any other and relegates *V* and *R* as far from the main text as possible. In a similar move, to supplement their best musical texts, Callahan, Grossel, and O’Sullivan created a musical apparatus criticus using ossia staves, at least justified by the fact that their choice to present a ‘best text’ had been made explicit. Thanks to this apparatus

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<sup>275</sup> For example, Rosenberg’s editions with Tischler and van der Werf betray a marked preference for members of the *KNPX* group, as does Susan Johnson, *The Lyrics of Richard de Semilli: A Critical Edition and Musical Transcription* (Bringhamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992). Callahan, Grossel, and O’Sullivan are to be lauded for their use of *Mt* which probably has the distinction of being the earliest source for Thibaut’s songs while by no means being the freeest from ambiguity.

<sup>276</sup> Le Vot frequently chose melodic readings from manuscripts far afield from the text Rosenberg had already chosen, because ‘we simply wished to offer as broad a sampling as possible’, Le Vot, ‘Introduction’ in Rosenberg, Le Vot, and Switten, *Music of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 8. He particularly favoured *O*’s mensural readings, but stranger is his decision to mix *K*’s music with *N*’s texts in songs for Gace Brulé and Richard de Semilli, *ibid.*, pp. 257 and 272.

criticus, tacit corrections are avoided, whereas in most other editions these run rampant. Especially pernicious are instances where different levels of intervention obtain in the text compared to the melody, as the results are extremely misleading. A reader may come away believing that the music scribe is at fault when in fact readings in music and text are perfectly coordinated but the editor has corrected one and not the other.<sup>277</sup> Tischler too made frequent adjustments to underlay and ligation. These small-scale interventions were usually side-effects of an even more extreme form of intervention, Tischler's habit of supplying rhythms for songs transcribed from non-mensural notation.

Tischler's rhythmic interpretations are based on a mixture of the old modal theory of textual meter and these impact his reading of what actually appears on the staff. A full consideration of the rhythmic interpretation of trouvère song is beyond the scope of this thesis and as is a comprehensive critique of Tischler's edition. Among the problems specific to his edition (rather than modal rhythm in general) are the inconsistency with which modal interpretation of the text is actually applied, frequent isosyllabic interpretations labeled as 'mode 6' Tischler's approach also obscures what few mensural ligatures do appear in some songs, since these seldom agree at all with his hypothesized rhythms. Finally, Tischler's modal assignment determines how music and text coordinate, where for most editors that is merely a question of verse length and ligatures. As a result, corrections to hypo- and hypermetric readings in the music vary according to the assigned rhythmic mode of the song, often without regard to what those variants convey about how music scribes read the text.

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<sup>277</sup> Le Vot is especially brazen in such cases; see for example the treatment of RS 1893 in the Rosenberg, *Le Vot*, Switten volume, p. 262 where v. 7 has a tacit correction to the text and a resultant hypometrical 'error' left in the music.

Even van der Werf's 1977 *Trouvère-Melodien*, supposedly motivated by his equal respect for all variants, ordered manuscripts with a consistent bias and tacitly corrected *V* and *R* frequently (and *M* and the *KNPX* group on occasion) where he perceived a discrepancy between music and text. But while he never considered that a hypermetric or hypometric note could be considered a valid variant, he also assumed that exact transpositions by third were worth reproducing in full, usually without comment. In so doing, van der Werf is implicitly following traditional editorial theory by correcting 'clear errors' justified by stylistic rules, regardless of the technical explanation. He then refrains from correcting errors that have an obvious cause, but cannot be dismissed on stylistic grounds. He prioritises stylistic determinations over palaeography. A better approach would be to use palaeography and codicology as the primary tool for making such decisions and leave stylistic rules to be gleaned from the evidence then presented in the edition. Stylistic mistakes may eventually become obvious to users of an edition. Visual quirks of the original manuscript cannot.

The most promising way forward may be to return to single-manuscript music editions like the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century scholarly editions of *K*, *M*, and *O* by the then-leading scholars Pierre Aubry and Jean Beck, but with a greater commitment to accessibility than their versions offered and without their highly interpretive impositions of rhythm.<sup>278</sup> While facsimile editions are often redundant in the age of high-quality online photoreproductions, transcribed versions of whole manuscripts,

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<sup>278</sup> Pierre Aubry, ed., with introduction and notes by Alfred Jeanroy, *Le Chansonnier de l'Arsenal: Trouvères du 12e–13e siècle: Reproduction phototypique du manuscrit 5198 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: Guethner, 1913), which was unfortunately never finished and Jean Beck (Professeur à l'université de Pennsylvanie et au Curtis Institute of Music à Philadelphie), ed., *Les Chansonniers des Troubadours et des Trouvères: Publiés en Facsimilé et transcrits en notation moderne*, Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi, 2 vols. (Paris and Philadelphia, PA: 1927; republished by Slatkine Reprints, Geneva and Paris: H. Champion, 1976), Jean Beck and Madame Louise Beck, eds., *Les Chansonniers des Troubadours et des Trouvères Numéro 2: Le Manuscrit du Roi, fonds français N° 844 de la Bibliothèque nationale, Reproduction Phototypique publié avec une introduction par Jean Beck*, 2 volumes, (New York: Broude Brothers, 1970; original publication, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938).

complete with notes would be valuable resources to give students and performers a chance to become acquainted with these songs and their context simultaneously. In addition, understanding the entire project of a single scribe might encourage a more respectful approach on the part of editors, who are understandably inclined to play favourites when dealing with a collection of manuscript witnesses to a sizable corpus of songs. A detailed proposal for new principles of editing for this repertoire is beyond the scope of the thesis and the following section turns instead to the implications stemmatology and editing have had for chansonnier *V*.

## 2. Melodic Comparison: A Century of Musicology and Philology

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when stemmatic analyses of the chansonniers began to incorporate melodic comparisons, *V* came under suspicion. Spanke, Gennrich, Bittinger, and Theodore Karp drew attention to the numerous musical divergences in *V*.<sup>279</sup> Most editors working from *V* have challenged the source's reliability based on errors and real problems of reconciling melodic and textual readings. Scholars establishing stemmata have associated *V* with *R*, a source whose sparse decoration and informal appearance aggravated its musical eccentricity in the eyes of some. The problem of 'isolated' or 'unique' melodies became a serious question for anyone editing or describing these two sources and complicating the issue in many musicological studies. A question that needed to be asked was what constitutes an extreme level of musical variation between two melodic versions, and what constitutes two different

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<sup>279</sup> Spanke, 'Studien zur Geschichte', at p. 70; Werner Bittinger, 'Fünfzig Jahre Musikwissenschaft als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', *Zeitschrift für Philologie* 69 (1953), pp. 161–94; Karp, 'MS Tradition', *passim*.

melodies? And what would the second scenario mean for the relative worth of the sources that contain them?

When broaching the issue of using melodic comparison as a means of establishing filiation for melodies, Aubry was pessimistic. It would be intriguing to know more about the relationship between both Aubry's and Beck's thought regarding musical variance and the developing theories of their co-collaborator, Bédier.<sup>280</sup> Some of Aubry's statements published in 1909 already resonate with radical stance taken by Bernard Cerquiglini: '*nous avons affaire moins à des fautes qu'à des variantes légitimes*' [emphasis original].<sup>281</sup> Yet he still believes in an authorial version, even if choosing between scribal permutations is impossible for music (and even if an edition must consequently print representatives from each melodic family, acknowledging that any one of them could be 'correct').<sup>282</sup> In textual criticism, 'la faute est réelle' and manifests in violations of sense and norms, whereas for music, 'une seule forme est la bonne, la forme originale, l'émanation de la pensée musicale de l'auteur, mais laquelle ?' The various manuscripts, including *V*, do not represent errors, but 'des *variations* d'un thème' for each of the songs.<sup>283</sup>

In his essay on *KNPX*, Spanke had little call to discuss the more extreme variation found between sources such as *V* or *R*.<sup>284</sup> By contrast, when considering the topic of contrafaction and the reuse and adaptation of strophe forms, Spanke began the work of developing a 'Methodik der Melodienvergleichung' by and large divorced

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<sup>280</sup> There is no musical introduction in Joseph Bédier, ed., *Les chansons de Colin Muset*, with musical transcriptions by Jean Beck, *Les classiques français du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 1912). John Haines has made note of the friendship between Beck and Bédier and the latter's support for the former's application for positions in the United States, Haines, 'The First Editions', at p. 363. Haines proposes a profound shift in Beck's policy as a result, *ibid.*, at p. 368.

<sup>281</sup> Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry, eds., *Les chansons de croisade, avec leurs mélodies* (Paris: Champion, 1909; repr. Genève: Slatkine, 1974), p. XXIV.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.* p. XXXIII.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.* p. XXV.

<sup>284</sup> See note 7, above.



from any stemmatic considerations.<sup>285</sup> Without theorizing in particular depth the line between different melodies and different versions of the same melody, Spanke goes about cataloguing previously identified contrafacta for which the melodies disagree. Both here and in his consideration of *V*'s *unica* specifically the musicologist confronts the issue of highly individual melodies (Spanke identifies RS 333, RS 590, RS 700 and 1887, RS 1495, and RS 1559).<sup>286</sup> He describes these as melodic *Sondererscheinungen* and suspects them to be the invention of the *V* notators, supplied in the place of songs for which the notator had lost the notation.<sup>287</sup> Spanke's writings were nearly the last on this topic still to accept Gröber's model of transmission and thus to attribute to scribes the full responsibility of both melodic variation and the invention of new melodies for pre-existing texts.<sup>288</sup> Yet the idea that these peculiar melodies could have been invented wholesale by a scribe persisted in German scholarship.

A new name was given to these *Sondererscheinungen* in the 1950's, a period that, thanks largely to Gennrich, witnessed the first real steps towards characterising chansonniers based on the musical variants they contain. While Gennrich's critical editions are surprisingly sparse on commentary, Werner Bittinger's work clarifies a number of theoretical points by way of applying Gennrich's theories to problems of

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<sup>285</sup> Hans Spanke, 'Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen und Melodien in dem altfranzösischen Lyrik', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 51 (1928), pp. 73–117 at pp. 88–108.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 96, 106.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112 and *idem*, 'Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Liedes. I.', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 156 (1929), pp. 66–79 at p. 70: 'In dem Nachdichter, der in der V-Fassung von Str. II ff. sein Wesen getrieben hat, dürfen wir wohl den Schreiber von V vermuten.'

<sup>288</sup> *Idem*, 'Strophenformen und Melodien', p. 95: 'Und doch scheuten sich einige Sammler nicht, ihre Melodien, man möchte fast sagen systematisch, sehr stark zu ändern bzw. ganz neue statt der richtigen einzusetzen. Es wurde schon auf das eigenartige Verhalten von V und R in diesem Punkte hingewiesen.'

author attribution instead of editing.<sup>289</sup> In the process of doing so, Bittinger developed a vocabulary for a phenomenon cursorily identified in chansonnier *R* by Rudolf Zitzmann several years earlier.<sup>290</sup> Zitzmann, in the course of preparing critical editions of the melodies attributed to Jacques de Cysoing, concluded that *R*'s versions were later reinventions and could be excluded.<sup>291</sup>

Bittinger sought to generalize the proposition, and compared the practice to contrafaction, thus coining the term *Kontraposition*, denoting the invention of a new melody for an old text.<sup>292</sup> In the article, he examines one text (RS 1575, *Je ai esté lonc tenz hors du paiz*, number 68 in *V*) with no fewer than four melodies, unique both in *R* and in *V* as well as in *M*.<sup>293</sup> Bittinger first explains the last of these unique melodies as the product of a later owner of the manuscript who supplied a new melody as a stand-in for the forgotten original.<sup>294</sup> In Bittinger's chosen example, R1575 (number 68 in *V*), the versions in *M*, *V* and *R* fundamentally differ in contour, structure, and detail from all other musical settings of the same text, such that their filiation, however distant, seems implausible.<sup>295</sup> Melodic comparison gives way to Bittinger's main concern, attribution, and he thus leaves the unattributed melody in *V* to one side. Bittinger returned to the topic of *Kontraposita* within the broad sweep of his book on vernacular song, where he examines other examples in *R*, though not in

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<sup>289</sup> Bittinger, 'Musikwissenschaft als Hilfswissenschaft', at pp. 162–5.

<sup>290</sup> Rudolf Zitzmann, 'Die Lieder des Jacques de Cysoing', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 65 (1949), pp. 1–27.

<sup>291</sup> 'Die Fassungen der Hs. R weichen meistens so stark von den übrigen Lesarten ab, daß sie zur Herstellung einer kritischen Fassung kaum in Frage kommen, R ist als jüngere Handschrift offensichtlich viel weiter vom Original entfernt als die Übrigen Handschriften.' *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>292</sup> Bittinger, 'Fünzig Jahre', p. 178.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>294</sup> 'in Unkenntnis der ursprünglichen, die Eintragung einer neuen Liedmelodie veranlaßte oder sogar eigenhändig vornahm', *ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177–180.

V.<sup>296</sup> There, he concurred with Zitzmann's assessment, calling *R*'s version of RS513 'eine gänzlich abweichende Melodie späterer Herkunft ebenfalls mit Stollendifferenzierung'.<sup>297</sup> For such a totally divergent melody to have repeating *pedes* at all would have been a surprise to Spanke, who had described his *Sondererscheinungen* as generally through-composed.<sup>298</sup>

Some four years later, in discussing the problems of editing trouvère music, Ursula Aarburg defended the integrity of an original idea of the melody against the challenges posed by musical variance.<sup>299</sup> In doing so, she chose a melody (R238) for which three separate manuscript families basically agree. Her conflation method of editing, she insists, is therefore completely practical in this case; Aubry's warnings, concerned with the more extreme variation, could not nullify the validity of careful critical editing. However, prefiguring Grier, Aarburg stressed the necessity of a thorough familiarity with the stylistic idiom of the music. Only this knowledge and an understanding of typical scribal errors, not the stemmatic grouping of manuscripts, could make musical correction possible. By the middle of the 20th century, the early synoptic attempts and manuscript transcriptions of Aubry and Beck had been replaced by a critical approach split into two separate activities: the various different melodies for a single text were to be assessed and their viability weighed. On the other hand, variants within a single melodic family were to be compared and corrected, either by

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<sup>296</sup> Bittinger, *Zur musikalischen Textkritik*, pp. 23–5.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25. By *Stollendifferenzierung*, Bittinger refers to the aba'b'X structure of *R*'s melody, compared to the exact ababX of *K*'s version (*R*: fol. 157v *K*: p. 217).

<sup>298</sup> Spanke, 'Strophenformen und Melodien', p. 95.

<sup>299</sup> Ursula Aarburg, 'Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien', *Die Musikforschung* 10 (1957), pp. 209–217 at p. 209.

recourse to a base manuscript (in practice, chosen by a textual editor) or through the identification of mechanical errors.<sup>300</sup>

In the anglophone world, Theodore Karp published a sweeping article on trouvère transmission that situated each chansonnier on a continuum from ‘central’ to ‘peripheral’ based on the comparison of melodic variants alone (though Karp was keenly aware of the philology preceding him).<sup>301</sup> Karp’s most salient contribution to the perception of *V* was its proposed relationship to trouvère chansonnier *R*. Karp recommended a comprehensive comparison of *R* and *V*, and even claimed that ‘philological evidence links *V* with the third section of MS *R*’, though he leaves the details of that evidence to be reconstructed by future scholars (as well as a more exact definition of the ‘third section’).<sup>302</sup> This loose thread would later be picked up both by Johann Schubert and Mary O’Neill.<sup>303</sup> In fact, Karp was similarly interested in chansonnier *O* as an object of comparison for *V*, though this relationship has yet to be extensively explored in detail.<sup>304</sup> Ultimately, it was not philological considerations (textual or melodic) that prompted comparison between *R* and *V*, but the fact that both contain their own unique melodic versions and that both are known for their ‘unreliability’. Yet Karp’s discussion of the musical issues found in *R* and *V* prompted a condemnation of conflationist practices in editing.<sup>305</sup> Karp here noted that scholars will need to begin to accept multiple musical readings as valid, at least where short

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<sup>300</sup> See Aarburg’s system of symbolic notation for denoting the typical errors of *Verschiebung* (rhythmic displacement of one or more pitches), *Verlagerung* (transposition by a second, third, or fifth), *Umkehrung*, *Ausfall*, *Zusammenfassung* and *Spaltung* (binding multiple notes as one ligature or splitting ligatures), and *Tonrepetition*, *ibid.* p. 214.

<sup>301</sup> Karp, ‘MS Tradition’.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>303</sup> Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, pp. 56–7, 123–4, 127, 140–43, 178. O’Neill, *Love Song*, pp. 44–5.

<sup>304</sup> Karp, ‘MS Tradition’, at p. 44. See also Matthew Thomson’s comparison of *V*’s notation to that in *O* in the context of modal rhythm, in his ‘Interaction between Polyphonic Motets and Monophonic Songs in the Thirteenth Century’, Doctoral Thesis, University of Oxford (2013), pp. 149–51.

<sup>305</sup> Karp, ‘MS Tradition’, pp. 25–52.

phrases are concerned.<sup>306</sup> At the same time, he followed Zitzmann and Bittinger in denigrating the validity of ‘contraposition’ in *R* and *V*, even asserting a rule for editors:

In the event that a melody in either *V* or *R* is unrelated to a melody setting the same poem in a more reliable source, one may be quite certain that it is the latter which is the earlier of the two.<sup>307</sup>

This is a turn away from Spanke’s more cautious stance, which accepted the possibility, however unlikely, that some contrafacted melodies in the ‘reliable’ sources might have been supplied to replace a lost divergent melody, still witnessed in sources like *V*.<sup>308</sup> Scholarship had progressed toward a more active editorial stance.

Karp was writing at a time when Gennrich’s ‘Repertoire-theorie’ was still new and references to it were sparse in anglophone scholarship. A year after Karp’s article, van der Werf acted as a bridge between the two cultures by discussing oral transmission in English.<sup>309</sup> Taking up the cross for Gennrich’s theory of transmission, van der Werf considered the relevant dichotomy no longer to be between intentional and unintentional written alteration, but between written and oral transmission. The changes were now fully conscious, if un-premeditated: they were born from the genius of the performer in the heat of the moment. In van der Werf’s proposed model, melodies could change drastically through the process of sung transmission, contemporaneously with the creation of the extant chansonniers.<sup>310</sup> Each collection then becomes a snapshot of a melody’s shape at a given point in time, even during a given performance. Over the years, van der Werf accumulated an impressive amount

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<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>308</sup> Spanke, ‘Strophenformen und Melodien’, p. 98.

<sup>309</sup> van der Werf, ‘Chansons as Creations of Notationless Musical Culture’, *Current Musicology* 1 (1965), pp. 61–8.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66 note 3.

of research and a monumental number of transcriptions.<sup>311</sup> With the growth of this corpus, van der Werf's confidence in his methods of melodic comparison grew as well. At the beginning, in weighing the stability of the melodies in the *KNPX* group against the flexibility between *M* and *T*, van der Werf believed he could contrast the symptoms of written transmission to those of oral transmission.<sup>312</sup> By the 1970s, he felt in a position to identify clear musical errors and to attributed them unequivocally to scribal deficiency.<sup>313</sup>

In practice, only two circumstances would lead van der Werf to dismiss melodic readings: firstly, if a manuscript (such as *V*) contained different melodies for pieces known to belong to the same contrafaction network; given the same melody in other manuscripts, *V*'s melodies were presumed to be at fault.<sup>314</sup> Secondly, van der Werf saw the provision of too many or too few notes for the number of syllables in a verse as clear evidence of scribal corruption, as opposed to performed variance.<sup>315</sup> Thus, in his editorial practice in the 1970s, van der Werf's tolerance for scribal error was considerably lower than what he professed in his theory of 1965:

...the scribes did not copy at sight symbol for symbol. Instead, certain manuscripts show clearly that a scribe must have sung to himself a section from the manuscript in front of him ... and then copied from memory what he had *heard* rather than what he had *seen*. Consequently he put himself in the position of a jongleur notating his own performance.<sup>316</sup> [Emphasis original]

<sup>311</sup> van der Werf, ed., *Trouvères-Melodien*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi XI–XII, 2 vols. (Kassel, Basel, Tours, and London: Bärenreiter, 1977).

<sup>312</sup> *Idem*, 'Notationless Culture', p. 66.

<sup>313</sup> *Idem*, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Epe, The Netherlands: Hooiberg, 1972), p. 32.

<sup>314</sup> 'Es muß an dieser Stelle erwähnt werden, daß die Handschriften *R* und *V* von vielen Chansons Melodien überliefern, die nicht untereinander und mit den Melodien verwandt sind, die für die gleichen Chansons in anderen Manuskripten erhalten sind. Eine gründliche Untersuchung dieser Melodien zeigt, daß diese *R*- und *V*- Fassungen warscheinlich nicht von dem Trouvère selbst stammen und daß sie stattdessen wahrscheinlich von einem Jongleur oder einem Schreiber erfunden wurden. Das gleiche gilt bisweilen für Fassungen in anderen Handschriften.' Hendrik van der Werf, 'Deklamatorischer Rhythmus in den Chansons der Trouvères', *Die Musikforschung* 20 (1967), pp. 122–144 at p. 128. The author would restate the same sentiment in English five years later, see note below.

<sup>315</sup> *Idem*, *Study of the Melodies*, p. 32. See also *idem*, ed., *Trouvères-Melodien*, vol. II, p. 730.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66.

These ‘certain manuscripts’ clearly excluded *R* and *V*.

In such a changing climate, several younger researchers introduced dissenting opinions on the melodies of manuscript *V*. The first product of this generation, Johann Schubert’s monograph on *R*, presents the evidence not in defence of the notator or the melodies, so much as further support for Gennrich’s *Repertoiretheorie*.<sup>317</sup> The work is overtly descriptive in character and consists primarily of detailed comparisons of chansons between the versions in *R* and other sources, many of which (due to the conservative nature of Schubert’s transcriptions) remain useful for reference. Schubert’s divisions of the manuscript based on melodic comparisons did reveal very solid patterns of filiation: some sections of *R* can be easily linked to *T*, others more easily to the *KNPX* group and a significant portion of songs relate most closely to *V*.

The fourth fascicle, (identified by Schubert as Gatherings 15 through 20, fols. 106r–153v), contains the greatest concentration of songs whose close relation to *V* is unambiguous.<sup>318</sup> Although the musical relationships are convincing, Schubert’s conclusion from it relies on a dubious application of Gennrich’s theory: ordered sequences of melodies shared in two manuscripts, Schubert believes, derive from a common manuscript, whereas similar melodies found for songs scattered in two manuscripts implicate a shared ‘repertoire’ delivered by a performer. This logic appears in Schubert’s introduction and foregrounds the descriptive work. The entire exercise thus relies on the assumption ‘...daß die Lieder eines Spielmanns mehrmals niedergeschrieben wurden’.<sup>319</sup> In such a case, the ordering of the songs would be

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<sup>317</sup> Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, *passim*, especially pp. 179, 184–6.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29 for collation, pp. 120–49 for melodic comparison of Fascicle 4 and pp. 127, 140–43, 178 for further notes on filiation with *V*.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

variable, even in manuscripts copied from the same human source. The contents of different chansonniers would change as well, as the performer bolstered his or her repertoire. Melodic similarities between sources that do not share ordering would then be proof of oral transmission.

Schubert thus ignores the possibility that the ordering of songs had first been predetermined by the text scribes who followed the ordering of unnotated exemplars and that music copyists subsequently found melodies in whatever sources they could. Elizabeth Aubrey suggests that in *Troubadour R*'s case, the music copyist wrote the songs into the manuscript in the order in which he found them, jumping from section to section as he went.<sup>320</sup> It might be revealing then to re-examine trouvère *R* in greater detail having first established the separate compilational sections of *V*; the following chapter will re-examine the case for drawing a parallel between *V* and *R* and engage with scholars who have connected the two through other means than melodic comparison. Comparisons of ordering do offer some justification: a number of songs from Fascicle 4 of *R* appear in brief sequences in *V*'s Gatherings 12 and 14–15. However, even adjacent songs' melodies relate to *R*'s versions by massively different degrees of variation (some not at all). For example, *V*'s melody for 287 agrees with *R*'s and differs drastically from that in all other sources; on the other hand, *V*'s version of 288 follows that of the majority of sources, while only *R*'s is left out in the cold. Of the 12 songs for which I find a close and exclusive relationship between *R* and *V*, only seven are in *R*<sup>4</sup>. Schubert's establishment of a Repertoire *R*<sup>4</sup>a, 'das in *R* und *V* Aufnahme gefunden hat' requires revision.<sup>321</sup> One must rather presuppose an exemplar used as a source by the *R* scribes particularly for the songs of *R* fascicle 4,

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<sup>320</sup> Aubrey, *Troubadours*, p. 47.

<sup>321</sup> Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, p. 127.



and by the *V* scribes in general whenever songs could not be found in a *KNPX*-related source.

The next decade witnessed the nadir of *V*'s status in the eyes of scholars, in the work of Hans-Herbert Räkel. Writing precisely 100 years after Gröber, his thesis on contrafaction seeks to trace the shift from oral to written transmission as well as transformation in melodic style using the analysis of variants and techniques of imitation. Anxious to eliminate irrelevant variants, Räkel frequently discounts both *V*'s and *R*'s melodies and even spends a long passage denigrating *R* as a 'repräsentatives Wertstück eines Bewunderers der Trouvèreliryk'.<sup>322</sup> If the copyists of *R* are completely indifferent in regard to copying original melodies, what are we to think of *V* when it agrees only with *R*?<sup>323</sup> Räkel carefully sidesteps this question, perhaps out of deference for an unpublished thesis on *V* that had been defended in Paris just three years earlier.

As attitudes of trouvère scholars became more accepting of variance, unique melodies and melodic disagreements found a place in musical editions.<sup>324</sup> The most immediate impact this development had for *V* was Fiona McAlpine's doctoral dissertation, in which she transcribed the majority of the melodies in the source and defended the unique melodies on aesthetic grounds.<sup>325</sup> Her argument focused on melodic structure and on editorial questions, treating transmission history only as a means to an end. In light of the developments in the historical account of trouvère transmission just discussed, McAlpine's study merely superimposed a new trend, 'le

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<sup>322</sup> Hans-Herbert Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie: Thèse présentée à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Genève pour obtenir le grade de docteur ès lettres*, Thèse 203 (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1977), p. 339. See also pp. 36, 39, 41, 57, 67, 123, 127, 160.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>324</sup> For only the most extensive, see Bahat and Le Vot, *L'Œuvre lyrique*; Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*; Callahan, Grossel, and O'Sullivan, *Thibaut*.

<sup>325</sup> McAlpine, 'Chansonnier'.

nouveau respect pour tous les produits d'une culture orale' onto *V*'s melodic style without questioning the relationship between scribe, performer, and musical object. Her brief summary of van der Werf's opinions on orality and gesture in the transmission of Arabic music are both neatly tucked into her chapter on rhythm.<sup>326</sup> This contextualization relates not to her philological principles, but to an explanation of why rhythmic notation (modern or medieval) was not suited to the product of an oral tradition. Her editorial work still operated within a paradigm that preferred to discard challenging (or challenged) readings rather than consider how they arose and what they indicated. McAlpine's defence of *V* relied on general theoretical trends and engaged with the manuscript only on the level of musical form and style. Meanwhile, the project of clarifying the processes of transmission that led up to *V*'s construction remained virtually untouched. In explaining the *mélodies uniques* in *V* and *R* McAlpine simply parallels Schubert in considering the possibility of independent melodic traditions.<sup>327</sup> The traditional path from the manuscript back to an 'original' melody was now barred; to replace it as an object of study came the goal of describing the evolution of musical style between sources.

Mary O'Neill's ambitious book on the transmission of trouvère melodies approaches chansonniers, including *V*, from this narrative perspective. Her classification of *V* as a 'Phase 2' source, though probably accurate where strict chronology is concerned, oversimplifies the complexity of this manuscript.<sup>328</sup> With the aim of constructing a chronology of trends, O'Neill tends to assess manuscripts

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<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 24–40.

<sup>327</sup> Thus for the duplicate songs of Thibaut and Blondel in *V*, rather than supposing the scribes copied their own previous version, 'il reste la deuxième possibilité : que la mélodie existait indépendamment des deux scribes et était connue de tous deux, mais par hasard pas d'autres notateurs, comme il y a certaines mélodies qui se trouvent dans *V* et *R* et pas dans d'autres manuscrits. Il s'agit peut-être de la région d'où ils venaient, peut-être d'un jongleur particulier', *ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>328</sup> O'Neill, *Transmission and Style*, pp. 27–50.

based on ‘scribal eccentricity’ and adherence to or divergence from ‘standard’ notational forms. Her method of examining notation on the one hand and melodic variants on the other is still useful and yields suggestive results. Yet the ‘Phase’ system of categorizing sources often lapses into the paradigm of ‘central’ versus ‘peripheral’ so firmly entrenched in Karp’s work; her newer terms simply replace spatial with chronological primacy.<sup>329</sup>

While Gennrich, van der Werf, and their contemporaries concerned themselves both with the music of the troubadours and of the trouvères, their successors specialized in one field or the other. Elizabeth Aubrey is the most recent scholar to deal with both repertoires with equal strength; it is unfortunate that her *Music of the Troubadours* has not been followed by an equally comprehensive study of the trouvères.<sup>330</sup> Despite the difference in language, serious consideration is due to her work, as well as others influenced by it in the same field: hers is a new paradigm and a new model of melodic comparison that synthesizes the implications of van der Werf’s theories of modal transmission with an older philological model that saw individual scribes and sources as having definable characteristics.

Aubrey’s method in describing troubadour style and form relies on controlling for scribal differences when comparing different composer attributions and controlling, as much as possible, for authorial differences when comparing different scribes. Given only four manuscripts with a significant number of notated troubadour songs, Aubrey is able to outline a fairly promising profile for each, at least as far as

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<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 44–5.

<sup>330</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, ‘The Dialectic Between Occitania and France’, *Early Music History* 16 (1997) pp. 1–53; *idem*, *Troubadours*; *idem*, ‘Literacy, Orality, and the Preservation of French and Occitan Medieval Courtly Songs’, *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993), pp. 2355–66; *idem*, ‘Vernacular Song I: Lyric’, in Mark Everist and Thomas Forest Kelly, eds., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, *The Cambridge History of Music* [11] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 382–427.

formal preferences, modal tendencies, and techniques of internal repetition are concerned.

Aubrey's work has very clear connections to similar trends in recent francophone scholarship, above all that toward establishing typologies of variance: Aubrey's crucial difference from that world is her focus on the scribe.<sup>331</sup> Gérard le Vot's break-down of variance types, established in the course of preparing editions, is understandably concerned with the range of permutations possible for a single piece.<sup>332</sup> His variance types are thus described as universals, common to all notators of the same repertoire, without seeking to take into account the circumstances of copying. Like van der Werf, le Vot accepted the possibility of (rather narrowly defined) scribal error, but tended to see large-scale variation on a song, or total recreation of a melody as the exclusive purview of singers rather than notators. Le Vot singles out RS1125, (182 in *V*, *Ahi amours com dure departie*) for being set to 'no fewer than five basically different melodies distributed through the ten manuscripts that transmit music with the poem'. Apparently, this circumstance is attributable only to oral transmission: 'We see here support for van der Werf's hypothesis of an oral tradition in which singers were responsible for the development of their musical material.'<sup>333</sup> In fact, van der Werf studiously avoided using unique melodies to bolster his hypothesis. In such cases, he remains agnostic: 'we have no way of knowing who provided the questionable melodies in manuscripts R and V; it could have been a singer and it could have been a scribe'.<sup>334</sup> The following chapter

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<sup>331</sup> Aubrey, *Troubadours*, p. 65.

<sup>332</sup> Bahat and Le Vot, eds., *L'Œuvre lyrique*, pp. 26–8.

<sup>333</sup> Le Vot, 'Introduction' at p. 9.

<sup>334</sup> van der Werf, *Trouvères*, p. 32.

will see the impossibility of differentiating written and oral variants play out in practice in the songs shared in *R* and *V*.

Where le Vot's editorial work is particularly strong is his consideration of the interaction between the verbal text, the musical text, and the variation in underlay between one and the other. This interaction, which provided the germ for much of Gennrich's intellectual harvest, had been a central point of inquiry in the debates surrounding musical interpretations relying on modal rhythm and has all too often been left as an afterthought now that modal theory has fallen out of fashion. A robust theorization of the scribal activity and possible representational or musical intentions behind these variations in underlay is still lacking in le Vot's editorial rules of thumb.

Most recently, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiéu has taken a position on musical philology and troubadour variance in dialogue with Elizabeth Aubrey.<sup>335</sup> Her position challenges the older, unquestioning model that assumed a clear distinction between *Sondererscheinungen* or *Kontraposita* and other forms of variance. Chaillou-Amadiéu begins with the problem of identifying musical error amid the notable variance of troubadour music, an issue familiar from the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>336</sup> Where she arrives is a reassertion of *mouvance* and the incorporation of 'unique' melodies into the general variance that characterized medieval song transmission: for each troubadour song previously identified as unique, Chaillou-Amadiéu claims to identify relationships to other melodies for the same text.

Her acceptance of variance then forms the background to speculative work on musical families between the four major troubadour manuscripts. In contrast to Aubrey, Chaillou's work tends to elide the individual composers and scribes, focusing

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<sup>335</sup> Chaillou-Amadiéu, 'Variantes musicales'.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

rather on global trends in the relations of different manuscripts to one another when they concord. This automatically controls for any stylistic differences between authors. Having established a typology of variance, Chaillou presents a catalogue of similarities between chansonniers: rather than listing variants, she considers only similarities between manuscripts. In a tradition where variance is so extreme as to render the same melody nearly unrecognizable in different versions, common error is far outside the realm of scholarly practicality.<sup>337</sup> She is able to establish tendencies toward certain melodic groupings of chansonniers; for Chaillou, this is merely an incidental result, not evidence on which to base a stemma or a scribal profile.<sup>338</sup> It does, however, serve as the basis for editorial aspirations and indeed for the ascription of shared parentage or at least musical relatedness.<sup>339</sup>

The most relevant piece of work on melodic comparison for our purposes is a concise recent article by Christopher Callahan in *Cahiers de recherches médiévales*, which applies some of the issues just outlined directly to manuscript *V*.<sup>340</sup> Callahan's methods of comparison, like those of so many others, were first developed for the purposes of constructing an edition, but rather than seeking out melodic divergence for the sake of excluding it, he distinguishes melodic versions that are best presented to the reader in their entirety from those more usefully placed on stacked staves for comparison within a family.<sup>341</sup> He was thus motivated to distinguish 'mélodies concordantes' from 'mélodies isolées', which he also refers to as '*unica* mélodiques',

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<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 93.

<sup>340</sup> Christopher Callahan, 'À la défense des mélodies « marginales » chez les trouvères: le cas de Thibaut IV de Champagne', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 26 (2013), pp. 69–90.

<sup>341</sup> Callahan, Grossel, and O'Sullivan, *Textes et mélodies*, Introduction, pp. 52–5

and to defend these melodic unica from the ‘mauvaise presse’ from which they had suffered in 20th-century scholarship and in the prefaces to non-synoptic editions.<sup>342</sup>

As a result of his compilation of a catalogue of these melodies for the Thibaut de Champagne sections of *V* and *R*, he arrived at the extremely important result that the concordant melodies cluster together at the beginning of *V*’s Thibaut section and are followed by the isolated melodies.<sup>343</sup> We shall see the implications of this result in Chapter 5.

Callahan’s focus is primarily the shape and genre of the unique melodies: like McAlpine, his concern is to demonstrate their internal logic against the opinion of (among others) Karp.<sup>344</sup> Callahan’s analysis of the melodies is descriptive and convincing, particularly since it delves into the musical material in much greater detail than McAlpine’s broad category of melodic contours is able to. Callahan does nevertheless manage some classification as well. His tables show that concordant melodies through Thibaut’s corpus are more likely to be *chansons d’amour*, and follow a melodic repetition structure within the stanza; the isolated melodies are most likely to be *Jeux-partis* (or other ‘formes secondaires’) and to follow the *ode continua* form, consisting of a single, through-composed strophe of melody repeated for subsequent stanzas. The *ode continue* are most common of all among the isolated *Jeux-partis* melodies. Given Aubrey’s survey of melodic repetition in troubadour melody and the gradual fall from grace of the *ode continua* in the 13th century, Callahan concludes that the unique *ode continue* in *V* and *R* are unlikely to be products of a later practice or inventions of up-to-date scribes.<sup>345</sup> Callahan even

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<sup>342</sup> Callahan, ‘Mélodies « marginales »’, p. 70.

<sup>343</sup> See Table 2 of *V*’s Thibaut de Champagne melodies in *ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

considers the conjecture that some of the *Jeux-partis* in *V* might be set with early troubadour melodies, otherwise lost. Another possibility he proposes is that these melodies, the product of later inventors, are in a style betraying a ‘nostalgie du passé’, belonging either to the notators of *V* and *R* or to their musical sources.<sup>346</sup> The codicological and musical investigations of the following chapter attempt to answer some of the lingering questions Callahan poses. Now that these melodies have been so convincingly proven to have musical value, it remains to pursue their transmission and the circumstances that led to their particular concentration in one section of *V*.

### 3. Conclusion

The secondary literature takes us back in a full circle to the editorial conservatism and synoptic editions with which the 20th-century began. What is clear (and clearly acknowledged, at least by Aubrey) is that any path forward must begin with the scribe. Beck himself sounded the call for engagement with scribes in his reproduction of the manuscript Cangé (*O*): ‘nous essaierons de pénétrer le mécanisme intellectuel du scribe et du notateur’.<sup>347</sup> Perhaps had Beck undertaken the same work for *V*, we would have a very different view of its scribes now, or perhaps the hierarchy of scribes that (based on modern criteria) places *O* at the top and *R* at the bottom would have been just as thoroughly entrenched. Engaging with these notators with the critical revolutions in medieval literature in hindsight makes it possible to go beyond them, to upend the idea of ‘bad’ scribes. The rest of this thesis concerns itself with resourceful notators. The evidence considered in the final chapter of Part II cannot

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<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>347</sup> Beck, *Chansonniers des Troubadours*, vol. 2, p. 9.



show from which specific sources *V* derived, but it can reveal their grade and the extent of their contents. Most of all, it confirms the suspicion that *V* did employ written exemplars and that at least some of those exemplars must have included musical notation.

## The Manuscript as a Music Collection:

### A Common Copy from Multiple Fragmentary Exemplars

THE MANUSCRIPT AS A MATERIAL OBJECT, its shape, the shape of its pages, and the marks on it framing those shapes into receptacles for text and music, define the constraints within which notators copied. In the case of *V*, the presentation of the lyrics also reflect the constraints placed by the pre-written and pre-notated materials the copyists used. In Chapter 1, layout and changes to layout served to support a codicological argument: the evidence provided clues as to the order in which the entire manuscript was assembled. There are several areas where textual divisions and the placement of the music on the page also betray information about the sources the text and music scribes must have used. More precisely, it provides solid proof of the kind of sources they lacked. Several incidents show that the texts were clearly copied from non-notated sources. Such a hypothesis already stands to reason, if only for economic reasons: as the text scribe has little use for a notated exemplar, it is much more efficient for that exemplar to be given only to the music notator. This enables the musical sources (surely more costly than text-only exemplars) to be borrowed for a shorter period of time, or else for multiple chansonniers to be produced more quickly. In the absence of any further contextual information about this chansonnier's production, it is the book itself that tells the story.

## 1 Evidence of Fragmentary Sources: Clues from the Codex

### 1.1 Layout Errors

Some of the text copyist's mistakes suggest that the book must have been copied from low-grade manuscripts, which lack the graphical divisions typical in luxury chansonniers. The text scribe would thus have been responsible for identifying textual divisions based exclusively on the text. To cite one such example among several, the middle of song 3 (*J'aloie l'autrier errant* RS342, fol. 2r), the scribe has failed to divide the stanzas accurately. The fifth stanza should begin on the last word of column b line 15, *devant*. The decorated initial on *Vers*, some three lines above is actually the beginning of stanza 4, verse 9. In all previous stanzas, there were twelve verses. As a result, the fifth stanza is four verses too long as presented in *V*. The presentations of the same song in *KNX*, *O*, *T* (F-Pn fr. 12615) and in the text-only source *S* (F-Pn fr. 12581) all confirm the correct distribution of stanzas.<sup>348</sup>

*V*'s error cannot merely be attributed to the decorator: the scribe has split the word *devant* across the line. The first two letters could have been placed on the following line, allowing the D to be supplanted by decoration; however the scribe has neglected to do so. This mistake would be impossible to make when copying from any of the other sources for this piece, all of which provide a coloured initial on *Devant*, while relegating *Vers* to the middle of a line. The error also contradicts the demands of the melody, whose strophic layout indicates consistent lengths for each stanza. Any carefully notated source, therefore, would surely conform to the correct distribution of stanzas.

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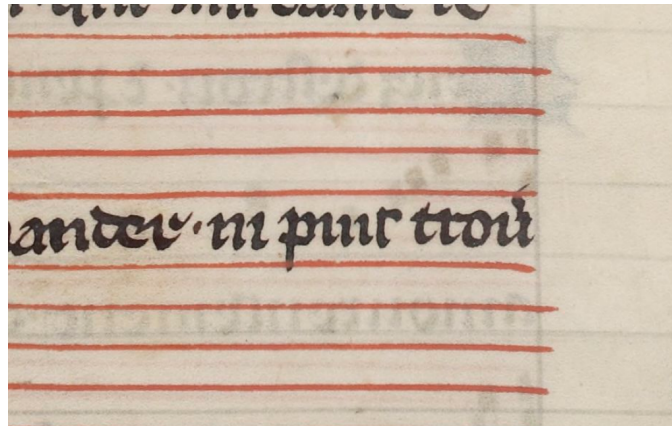
<sup>348</sup> *K* p. 3, *N* fol. 2v, *X* fol. 9v, *O* fol. 57v, *T* fol. 3r, *S* fol. 375v. The song is fragmentary in *M*. Neither Wällenskold in *Les chansons de Thibaut*, no. LI, pp. 176–9 nor Brahney, in her *Lyrics*, song number 37 pp. 151–3, note p. 287 comments on *V*'s error here.

## 1.2 Omitted Melody as Evidence of Copying

The surest evidence of the different copying scenarios for text and music scribe appears on fol. 33r. Here, the page has been prepared for an expected melody that was never supplied. The text scribe had already left space before the staves were put in place, as demonstrated both by staff lines cutting across certain textual elements and by instances where the red ink has bled into the text scribe's strokes, as in the **p** of *puis* on fol. 33r col. a staff IV (see Plate 5.1).<sup>349</sup> The text scribe therefore must have assumed a musical source would be available for these two songs. This was true, too, of the ruler of the staves, possibly the notator, in that case clearly working at a stage prior to consulting the melodic material. In the event, the music scribe seems to be missing a section of the exemplar, that would have affected the text scribe equally had they been using the same manuscript. The notator was obliged to skip an entire song (number 73) and in the next song, on fol. 33v, began halfway through the piece, in the middle of verse 5 (Plate 5.2). The notator must have been working from an exemplar that was missing a page, or perhaps the sheet in question was damaged; outside of a codicological break, there is no reason for the music to begin at that particular point. This confirms that the notator was indeed working from an exemplar and not from purely oral transmission: it is implausible that the notator could have

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<sup>349</sup> See also fol. 47r, where the scribe has at first misjudged the distance required for the second staff.



**Plate 5.1 Overlapping Staff-line,  
V, fol. 33r col. a stave IV–V**

forgotten the repeated element of the piece, the *pedes*, but managed to transcribe the freer and more unpredictable *cauda*.

The fact that the music begins again in the middle of the verse further undermines the idea of oral transmission, at least for this melody (there are other scattered examples of blank staves in *V* but only here do they affect the first half of the first stanza). Even so, it is impossible to know that the melody did indeed have the form of *pedes cum cauda*. The beginning of the melody partially notated by the *V* copyist is lost completely. Despite the several notated witnesses containing the text, *Ne puis faillir* (RS 160), this is one of the unique melodies of *V*. The pitches and contours of *V*'s melodic fragment are so dissimilar to the other settings of the same text that it cannot be traced back to any other source for this piece (see Example 5.1). Is it then safe to assume the opening of the other sources does not belong to the continuation in *V*? Keeping in mind Karp's deviated phrases and the subtle strands Chaillou-Amadiou identifies connecting versions of troubadour melodies, our missing opening on fol. 33 leaves us with a crisis of knowledge.<sup>350</sup> We cannot safely call song 74 a *Sondererscheinung*, *Neukomposition*, an *unicum mélodique* or *autochtone*

<sup>350</sup> Karp, 'MS Tradition', p. 29; Chaillou-Amadiou, 'Variantes musicales', pp. 82–9.

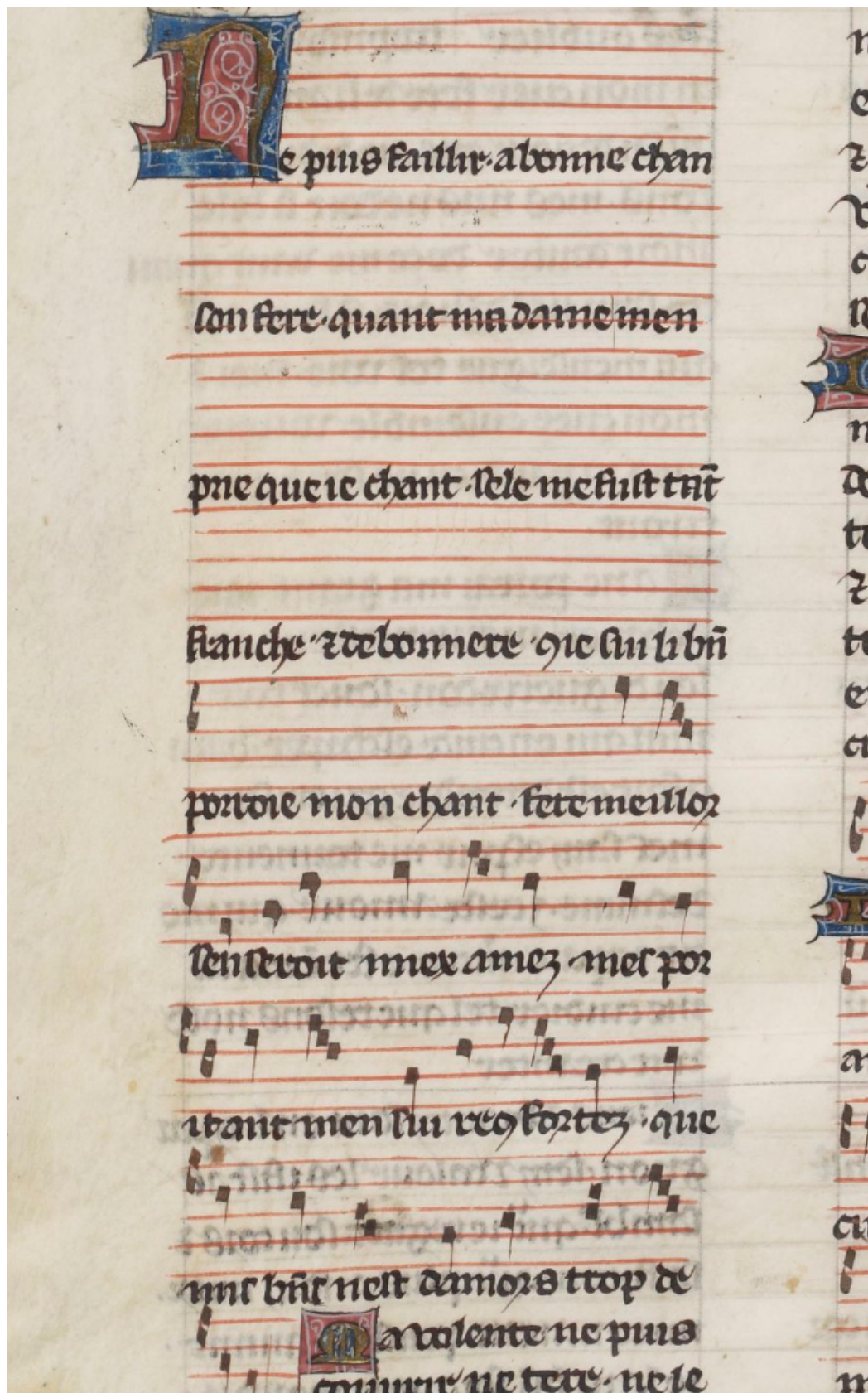


Plate 5.2 Partial Melody,  
V, fol. 33v

## Ex. 5.1 Partial Melody in *V*

*Ne puis faillir a bonne chançon faire, RS 160*

*K* page 67

*L* fol. 52v

*N* fol. 23r

*P* fol. 9r

*X* fol. 51v

*V* fol. 33v

1. Ne puis fai - llir a bo - nne chan - çon fai - re 2. quant ma da - me me pri - e que je chant

*K/N/P/X*

*L*

*V*

3. s'e - le me fust tant fran - che et de - bo - nai - re 4. con je sui li bien po - rroi - e mon chant

*K/N/P/X*

*L*

*V*

5. fe - re mei - lleur s'en se - roit melz a - mez 6. mes por i - tant m'en sui re - con - for - tez

*K/L/N/P/X*

*V*

7. que nus bien n'est d'a - mors trop de - sir - rez

*Fassung* without the beginning, since the beginning might have been the only vestige *V*'s version held in common with the other sources.<sup>351</sup> Whether song 74 was a divergent melody or completely unique, it is clear that it and other marginal melodic versions in *V* stem from lost notated exemplars and that those exemplars were unreliable and incomplete. The song also contradicts the suggestion that some of *V*'s melodies are purely the product *der müßigen Stunde eines Schreibers* or *fantaisies personnelles*.<sup>352</sup> If that were true, why did the notator refrain from re-inventing the beginning of this particular chanson?

### 1.3 Hypo-Strophic Melody as Evidence

Later in the manuscript, there is another instance of missing music: this omission is due to the text scribe's error. It occurs on fols. 52v–53r, by which time the notator has already changed, but the first text scribe still continues copying. At the top of fol. 53r, the scribe switches prematurely to prose format, in the middle of the first stanza (Plate 5.3). This is evidently an error and one that the scribe corrected immediately (or almost immediately): on the third line, the scribe has erased the words *et le courage* and then proceeded to double back to the previous verse with *par une étroite entrée*, now leaving enough room for staves and notation. Presumably, this means the scribe was looking at an exemplar that lacked musical layout; it is hard to imagine otherwise how he or she could forget to leave room for staves. Nor is this type of evidence

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<sup>351</sup> Râkel, *Erscheinungsform*, pp. 123 and 24; Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, p. 178; Bahat and Le Vot, *Blondel de Nesle*, p. 30; O'Neill, *Love Songs*, p. 74; Aubrey, *Toubadours*, p. 49.

<sup>352</sup> 'Auch in einem anderen [Stück]...haben wir wohl das Erzeugnis der müßigen Stunde eines Schreibers vor uns.' Hans Spanke, 'Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Liedes. I.', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 156 (1929), pp. 66–79 at 70. Albert Henry, *L'Œuvre lyrique d'Henri III Duc de Brabant* (Bruges: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 'De Tempel', 1948), p. 79, 'en outre, V est le spécialiste des fantaisies personnelles'.



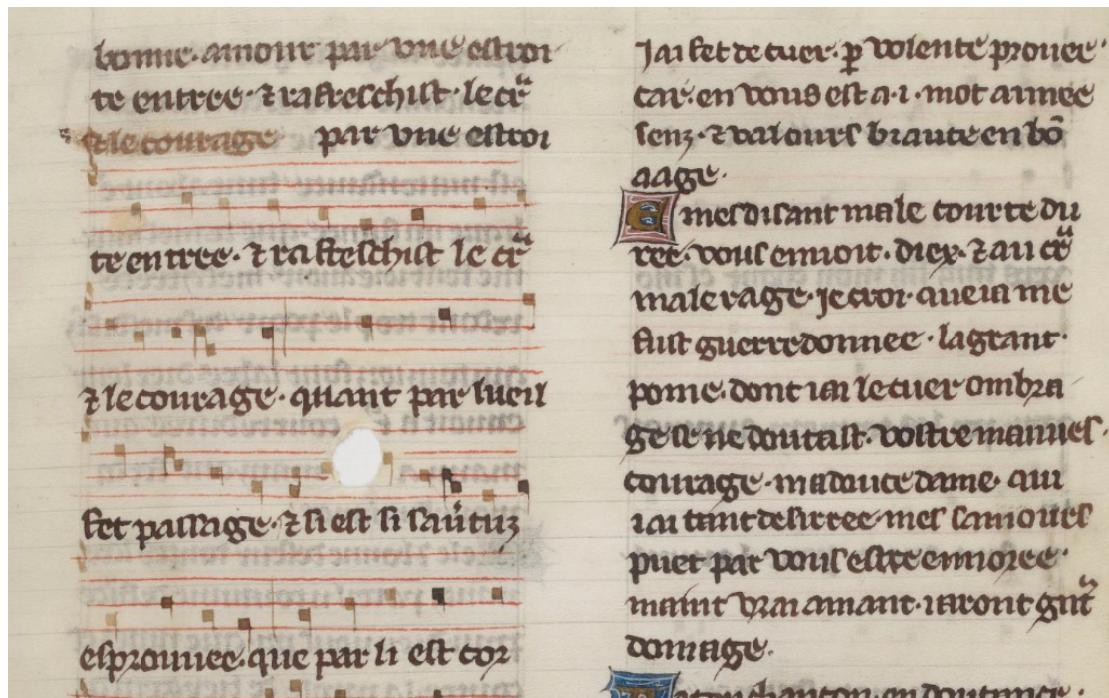


Plate 5.3  
Missing Staves in *V*<sup>1</sup>, fol. 53r col. a staves I–IV

without precedent: for Troubadour chansonnier *R*, Aubrey offers analogous incontrovertible proof that the melodies and texts were copied from different sources.<sup>353</sup>

Why the scribe doubled back only as far as *par une estroite* is puzzling. The correction still leaves out nearly an entire verse's worth of music, though admittedly, the music for verse 3 would probably have been a repetition of that for verse 1. One possible hypothesis is that the text scribe did indeed have access to a musical exemplar, but one that was missing a portion of the notation. In that case, for the sake of saving space and preserving appearances, the text scribe might have omitted two staves, knowing there would be no music to fill them. On closer inspection, the scribe might then have realized that the missing music was simply a repetition and that the

<sup>353</sup> Aubrey, *Troubadours*, p. 47.

music notator could (according to the practice followed in the rest of the manuscript) notate the repeat in its entirety.

If this were this case, why did the scribe double back at all? Skipping directly to *et le courage* would have been the most efficient use of space, while returning all the way back to *bonne amour* would have been the most comprehensive approach. Rather, the scribe seems to be concerned with preserving the right spacing: the two lines of text laid out as prose match precisely the space needed for a single staff. Perhaps the scribe expected the text to be erased and replaced; or else, the planning of the manuscript relied so exactly on a consistent number of staves that any spill-over would disrupt the compilation.

This textual mishap has an impact on the surviving music only in that the repetition of the first *pes* is missing; but it is possible the change affected what the music scribe copied more subtly. At the base of fol. 52v, there is an erasure in the music, making a surprisingly drastic change from an A-F-A ternaria to a series of single notes outlining A-G-A (Plate 5.4). Ordinary scribal oversight such as eye-skip or transposition error could not account for such a change. It might be that the *pedes* for this melody were originally more varied than in the copied version; the notator realized, on reaching fol. 53, that the *pedes* were not to be copied out in full and decided retroactively to regularize the repetition of the portion that could be copied literally, in order to avoid any confusion about what the missing music was. The regularisation is a sign to the user of the manuscript to retain the music from verse 1 for the unnotated verse 3.

As in our last example, this melody (for *Tout autresi com descent la rousee* RS 554) has no concordances; that is true of its text as well. Any other written witness to the piece has been lost; unsurprising if it were already damaged or fragmentary by



Plate 5.4 Notator 2 Erasures,  
V, fol. 52v

the time *V* was copied. As far as the rhyme and meter is concerned, the piece is a contrafactum of the twin pieces RS 552 and RS 557; the melody has nothing to do with that belonging to these other texts, as witnessed by *KNPX*, *R*, *Z*, *a* or even the version that appears later in *V* (fol. 91r). Nor does the melody show particular affinity to that in another supposed contrafaction only three folios later, song 130 (*Ne finirai tant que j'aurai trouvée* RS 557). Perhaps for these unicum texts, at least for *Tout autresi*, the scribe was working with the same fragmentary source that the notator had struggled with earlier, on fol. 33. Alternatively, we might ascribe the occurrence to scribal oversight, committed by a text copyist who had to balance the carefully planned notated format of *V*'s own page against the layout of a notationless exemplar. In either case, this evidence alone shows that *V*'s scribes were almost certainly dealing with multiple written sources.

#### 1.4 Hyperstrophic Melody as Evidence

The next example shows the reverse of the situation just discussed. Near the end of the sixth gathering, on fol. 48r, *V* provides song 112 (*L'autrier touz seus chevauchois* RS 1362/1709) more music than there normally would be for a strophic piece (again, this is the clearest example among several, most of them unica).<sup>354</sup> Where the copying of text is concerned, this is consistent with the examples we have just seen: the scribe relied on guesswork when determining the ends of stanzas. In this case, when the scribe reached the end of the first stanza, instead of switching to prose format according to the usual procedure, he or she continued leaving room for staves. The second stanza is not finished: after two and a half verses, the staves and text are truncated and the third verse of stanza two is immediately succeeded by the third stanza, in prose layout and opening with a small decorated initial. The text scribe's error is easy to explain here through an examination of the verse structure (as mentioned above, we are assuming transmission from a source that made no obvious demarcation between stanzas).

The scheme of the poetry is unusual in having eleven syllables per line: this may have flummoxed the text scribe, and prompted some confusion around the placement of the caesura, evident in the punctuation. When arriving at the second stanza, (verse 8, col. b staff II in *V*) he or she subdivided the long verses into alternating verses of 7 and 4 syllables, attested by the insertion of puncta. (The format remains in prose; the verse divisions represented in the transcription above reflect a hypothesized interpretation of the text scribe, not the representation actually present

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<sup>354</sup> See the critical edition of the melody based on *K*'s notation in Susan Johnson, *The Lyrics of Richard de Semilli: A Critical Edition and Musical Transcription* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), song 8, pp. 65–9; see *ibid.*, p. 20 for her explanation of the choice of base manuscript.

on *V*'s page.) This parsing fails in the first stanza, where, in verse 1, the eighth syllable falls in the middle of the word *chevauchioie*. The music later fell into the same trap, missing the fact that *gente* should elide with *en* in verse 3. The result is that there are insufficient notes for the *i* of *iceste* in the following verse and it is left unsung (see transcription and proposed correction, Example 5.2).

When divisions are considered as caesurae, the disagreement between stanzas is nothing out of the ordinary; according to Dragonetti, the placement of the caesura often varied, and in stanzas following a regular pattern of breaks ‘la suppression de la coupe métrique régulière a évidemment une valeur expressive’.<sup>355</sup> It is only when interpreted as verse divisions that the fluctuating caesurae cause difficulty. Because of the mistaken subdivisions of the verse, the scribe failed to notice the structural repetition between stanza 2's seven-syllable and four-syllable hemistichs and the eleven-syllable verses of stanza 1. But before finishing stanza 2, an additional clue alerted the scribe to the error: a refrain recurs every stanza, marking off the divisions. This refrain would have recurred in the following staff, had the scribe kept copying. A quick glance ahead would have been enough to reveal the mistake clearly. Had the scribe finished out the second stanza with music, she or he would have wasted enough space for five lines of music or 15 lines of text (roughly three stanzas). As it is, the additional staves take up enough space for twelve lines of text. The second stanza in prose format would have needed only five lines. The scribe then finished the song with a deficit of roughly seven lines: if anything, it is surprising to see no greater trouble taken to curtail the remainder of the song.

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<sup>355</sup> Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise : contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Brugge: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, ‘De Tempel’, 1960) pp. 495–497, at p. 497.

**Example 5.2 Scribe A Misreading, RS 1362 V fol. 48r**

I. Lautrier . touz seus chevauchoie mon chemin .  
a lissue de paris par .i. matin .  
oï dame bele et gente en .i. jardin .  
    iceste chançon noter .  
    *dame . qui a mal mari .*  
    *sel fet ami .*  
    *nen fet pas a blamer .*  
    vers li me tres si li diz .  
    seur dites . moi .  
    porquoi pallez . vous dami .  
    est ce desroi .  
sire le vous dirai . mout bien [...]

II. Li . vilain mont donee . mi parent .  
qui ne fet fors auner . or *et* argent .  
*et* me fet danui . morir . assez souvent  
    quil ne mi lest jouer'  
    *Dame et cetera*

III. Je li diz ma douce seur se diex me saut .  
vez ci vostre douz ami qui ne vous faut .  
venez vous en aveuc mi *et* ne vous chaut  
    si lessiez ester  
    *Dame et cetera*

**Johnson, song 8 (pp. 65–9)**

1. L'autrier tout seus chevauchoie mon chemin;  
A l'oissue de Paris, par un matin,  
Oï dame bele et gente en un jardin  
    Ceste chançon noter:  
    "*Dame qui a mal mari, s'el fet ami,*  
    *N'en fet pas a blasmer.*"
2. Vers li me tres, si li dis: "Suer, dites moi  
  
Pour quoi parlez vous d'ami? Est ce desroi?"  
  
"Sire, je le vous dirai mult bein pourquoi,  
    Ja ne.l vous quier celer:  
    *Dame [qui a mal mari, s'el fet ami,*  
    *N'en fet pas a blasmer].*"
3. "A un vilain m'ont donee mi parent  
Qui ne fet fors aüner or et argent  
Et me fet d'ennui morir assez souvent,  
Q'il ne me let jöer  
    *Dame [qui a mal mari, s'el fet ami,*  
    *N'en fet pas a blasmer].*"
4. Je li dis: "Ma douce suer, se Dex me saut,  
Vez ci vostre douz ami qui ne vous faut  
Venez vous en avec moi et ne vous chaut,  
    Si le lessiez ester.  
[NB: etc.]

## Ex. 5.2 Proposed Correction to Hyperstrophic Melody in *V*

*L'autrier touz seus chevachoie mon chemin, RS 1362/1709*

*V* folio 48r

1. L'au-trier touz seus che-vau - choi - e mon che-min 2. a l'i-ssu - e de pa-ris par .i. ma - tin.

*V*

3. O - ï da - me be - le et gen - te en .i. jar - din 4. i - ces - te chan - çon no - ter:

[*V* edited]

3. O - ï da - me be - le et gen - te en .i. jar - din 4. i - ces - te chan - çon no - ter:

*V*

"Da - me qui a mal ma - ri, s'el fet a - mi n'en fet pas a bla - mer."

*V*

Vers li me tres si li diz: 'Seur, di - tes moi:

[*V* edited]

1. Vers li me tres si li diz: 'Seur, di - tes moi:

*V*

por - quoi pa - llez vous d'a - mi? Est ce de - froi?"

[*V* edited]

2. por - quoi pa - llez vous d'a - mi? Est ce de - froi?"

*V*

'Si - re je le vous di - rai: mout bien...

[*V* edited]

3. 'Si - re je le vous di - rai: mout bien [pour quoi]

Where this explanation falls short is in accounting for the music notator's reaction to the error in layout. The most surprising aspect of this piece is the music provided for the beginning of the second stanza. It has very little in common with the melody of the first stanza, nor is it any more similar to the completely different version in the other chansonniers.<sup>356</sup> Is it possible that the music provided is no accident, but reflects the scribe's and notator's desire to display to full effect a melody that evolved from stanza to stanza? One of the celebrated late mensural additions in chansonnier *M* provides different musical settings for every stanza, again, unrelated to the music in other sources.<sup>357</sup> Even in that case, the division between stanzas is clearly marked by a decorated capital.

Unlike the heterostrophic melodic insertions of *M*, there is an abrupt lacuna in *V*'s text between the third verse of stanza 2 and the beginning of stanza 3. The only sensible explanation seems that the additional melodic material was provided only to excuse the textual mistake, not as a reflection of the song's through-composed nature. As we have seen above, inventing melodic material to fill gaps is out of character for *V*'s first notator. Perhaps the notator was simply taking advantage of the mistake to display prior knowledge of a non-strophic piece; discovering that a poem whose caesuras changed from stanza to stanza was accompanied by a through-composed melody would certainly be intriguing.

The simplest hypothesis is that *V*'s scribe and notator inherited the mistake: *V*'s first scribe and second notator read from a source where the notator and scribe

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<sup>356</sup> Susan Johnson goes so far as to define *V*'s stanzas each as a unique version: 'As always, MS *V* has a different melody. In fact, it presents two different melodies: the manuscript provides musical notation for the first three lines of the second stanza, and this melody does not correspond to the one given for the first stanza.' Johnson, *Lyrics*, p. 69.

<sup>357</sup> Hans Tischler, 'A Unique and Remarkable Trouvère Song', *The Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992), pp. 106–112. Tischler provides little in the way of context for the song, treating it like any other piece in *M*. See also Judith Peraino's summary of the mensural insertions, including RS1503, and the chronology of chansonnier *M* in her *Giving Voice*, pp. 159–63.



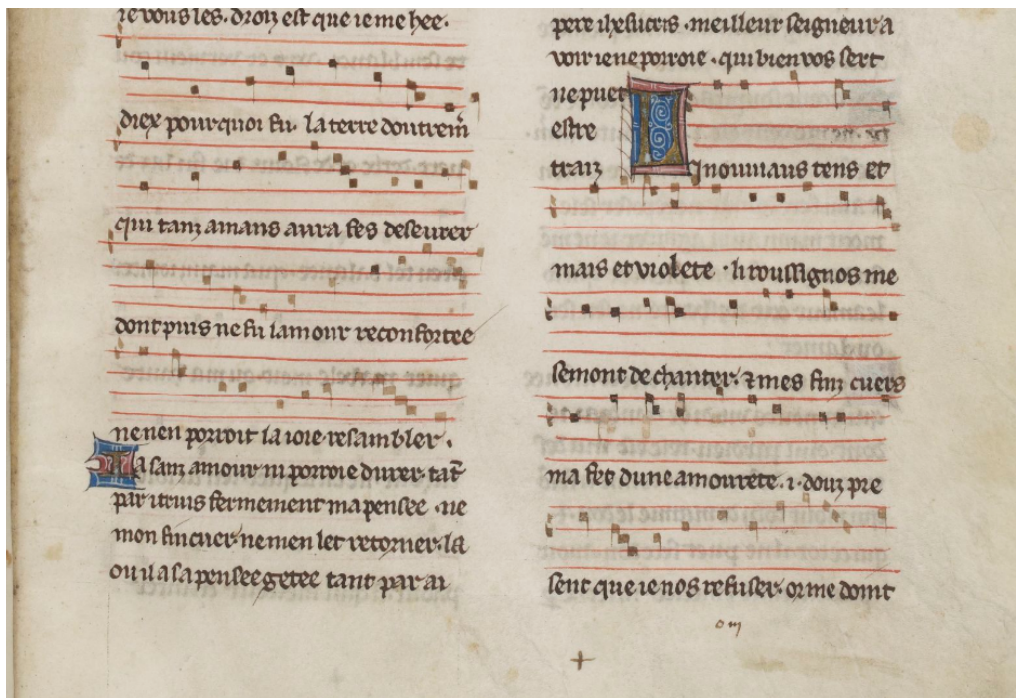
(possibly the same individual) misinterpreted the length of the first stanza and had no qualms in re-composing the melody to fit the expected length. Such a hypothesis of inherited error might explain many of the inconsistencies of *V*, and fits well with the evidence so far, which suggests that the entire project of *V* involved greater expenditure and attention than its exemplars had done.

### 1.5 Miscopy and Erasure as Evidence

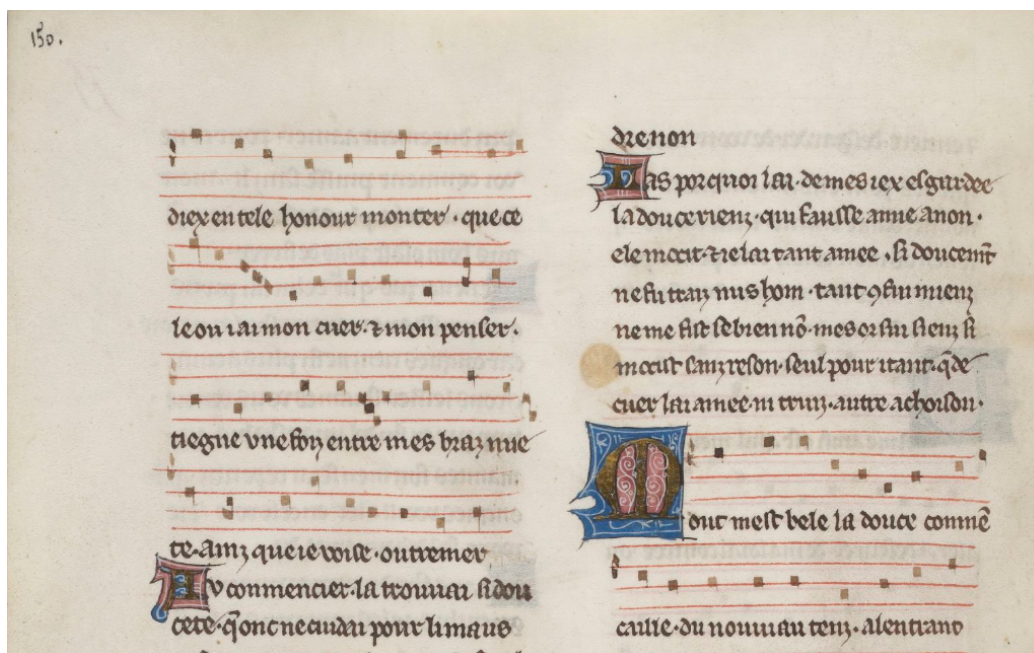
The clearest evidence that some melodies were copied from a lost notated source exists thanks to Notator 2's errors and corrections. One erasure by this notator shows, through an example of eyeskip and mistaken transposition, that notated exemplars were still employed for songs in later gatherings. When copying song 185, *Li nouviaus tens et mais et violete* (RS 985 fol. 75r-v), Notator 2 erred by copying two binaria on C and B on the sixth and seventh syllables of verse 3 (Plate 5.5).<sup>358</sup> The notator then erased both of these ligatures in order to insert a single note C, followed by the same two note-groups transposed up a third. Because the corrected melody leaps up by a third, from C to E, it is likely that third transposition was prompted by horizontal eye-skip, leaving out the repetition of the note C. The notator saw that the descending binaria began on the same note as the previous single note (on a line) and, seeing that he or she had just copied a note on a line, continued from there with the ternaria. It was precisely at the end of the verse that the notator realized the mistake. We can surmise then that the notator was able to determine where the end of the verse fell, without the help of diacriticals in the text. The dots on either side of *i* are, of

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<sup>358</sup> *V* fol. 75r col. b staff IV.



i



ii

Plate 5.5 *Li nouviaus tans et mais et violete* with Erasure in V:  
i) fol. 75r col. b; ii) fol. 75v col. a

course, indications of a cardinal number. Not only did the notator know the phrase-end of the music needed to coincide with the phrase-end of the text, the notator must have known not to elide *amourete* with *.i.*. As there is nothing in the meaning to cause a syntactic break here, we must assume the notator already knew the text, was copying from a clearly underlaid exemplar, or was able to work out the verse breaks from the rhymes. It would be reasonable to think the notator knew the text already, given the number of concordances in chansonniers and its appearance in romances. It is not the correction but the nature of the mistake that makes it overwhelmingly likely this melody was copied from a notated source. It would certainly be possible to miss out a note and ignore a clef when writing a melody without an exemplar; it would be easier to do so in the course of transferring attention from one notated staff to another.

But where was that first notated staff? The two binaria found here are not found in any other source either on E or at third transposition. It is conceivable that the notator was simply copying verse 1 again for verse 3, as the two are generally similar. Yet this version still does not contain the two binaria at the pitch levels indicated, since the first of them starts on F instead of E. If the notator did use verse 1 as a reference, he or she neglected to copy it exactly. The origin of the divergence between the two versions of the phrase is the missing F on the third syllable, yet the notator only corrects as far back as sixth. This means that even in the corrected version, the first note of verse 2, when it repeats for the second *pes* has to be repositioned as the last note of verse 3 instead of opening verse 4. This might have been a sloppy attempt at correction, an intentional alteration compounded by a misreading of the clef, or it was an attempt to make a literal copy of a source that already varied the *pedes*. The first possibilities are of interest for what they would show about the range of approaches within which the scribes might navigate when notating

melodies. If we accept the second, it implies this piece existed notated with a melody similar to *V*'s in a source that no longer exists. What we may suspect from this example becomes even clearer in the next: just because a melody appears only in one source does not mean that source's version was unique in the Middle Ages.

An erasure in an unicum copied by the second notator is also certainly related to copying from musical notation, and reveals a little bit more about his or her scribal mentality and the process of locating songs to copy. When inscribing song 255 (*J'ai par maintes fois chanté de cuer mari*, RS1054a=416b, fol. 101v), the notator began with the same melody given for song 249 (*J'ai par maintes foi chanté c'onques* RS416a=409a, fol. 99v), no doubt tricked by the similarity between the texts of the opening verses (Plate 5.6 i–ii). But the incipit is deceiving: the songs do not appear to share a metrical scheme. In fact, poetic organization of both pieces is eccentric, and surely not well represented here by *V*'s second text scribe. The number of verses and the number of syllables per verse changes between stanzas in both cases. Even by a rough estimate, the two pieces clearly follow different models of versification. In the first stanza of song 249, the first four verses are composed of 7+7+7+5 syllables. For the first four verses of song 256, the syllabification is roughly 7+4+5+4. The scribe realized his or her mistake when reaching the end of the second line, where the textual divisions must have driven home the fact that the melody had too many ligatures to fit a line of text. At this point, the initial attempt had to be erased, and the scribe began the entire song again with a completely different melody, with the correct number of ligatures for this text.

On the face of it, this is merely a straightforward mistake with a straightforward correction. It is nevertheless one that can be mined for information about the transmission process in the hands of Notator 2. Erasures are rare in this





i



ii

Plate 5.6 *J'ai par maintes fois in V*:  
i) Erasure, fol. 101v col. b; ii) Original, fol. 99v col. a

codex, even though errors and other forms of correction are plentiful. For the notator to erase an entire verse of music demonstrates commitment to finding what he or she believed to be the correct melody — even when the irregularity of the text seems to belie it. Whatever meddling or alterations the notators may have engaged in, they balked at the whole-sale reinvention of songs.

The error also reveals the conditions that enabled it in the first place: this type of mistake could never have occurred had the text and music scribes both been working from an exemplar in the same ordering as *V*. It was clearly up to the notator to locate the music for the song once the text scribe had already copied it. Furthermore, the notator must have consulted some source for the notation, beyond his or her own memory. If the notator had been familiar with the song, he or she would have realized the mistake sooner. For that matter, even knowing that two songs began with the incipit *J'ai par maintes* should have prompted the notator to double-check before notating such a large passage of the wrong piece; this precludes, for instance, the use of an index. Finally, the notational similarity between 249 and the erased version of 255 show that the notator either copied one piece from the other (an awkward task if the gathering were already sewn together), or copied both from the same source. It is simplest to imagine the notator recalling having just copied a piece called *J'ai par maintes* and therefore fishing out the same folio of the same exemplar used for the first song with that incipit.

## 1.6 Conclusion

These selected examples of different types of errors give a varied picture of *V*'s construction, above all, one that relied on a rich collection of written and notated

sources, and one that differed greatly between text scribes and music notators. The folios just considered demonstrate that the songs they contain must have been copied directly from pre-existing notation and that these exemplars were probably of lesser formality than *V* and its peers. At the same time, it is clear the text scribes had recourse to unnotated versions of the songs and had to rely on their own understanding of the text for the mise-en-page, deciding where the notation should begin and end and where decorated initials were needed. We might imagine a number of fragmentary sources, single gatherings or sub-author collections being assembled for the sake of producing *V*, though it is unlikely all of *V*'s exemplars were ever physically in the same place. Some of these collections and fragments might still exist, but it is safe to assume most do not. The more fragmentary and lower-grade the collection, the more likely that it would have been lost. Judging from its vagueness where stanza divisions are concerned, whatever source *V*'s Scribe A used to copy song 112 must have been fairly informal.

Could this mean *V* was copied directly from lost authorial sketches and performance copies, the *breus de pergamina* and *Liederblätter* postulated by Gustav Gröber?<sup>359</sup> The existence of fragmentary lost sources in itself strikes a blow to the negative evidence underlying Gennrich's entire critique; had Gröber had access to a store of fragmentary notated sources, he would have had no need of arguments based on trouvère and troubadour literacy.<sup>360</sup> Yet many fragments and informal codices exist that are neither autographs nor performance copies. We might just as easily imagine a system for chansonnier copying that relied on circulating notated sources used specifically for the production of luxury chansonniers, perhaps similar to the

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<sup>359</sup> Gröber, *Die Liedersammlungen*, pp. 377–670, at pp. 337–9, 342.

<sup>360</sup> See above, Chapter 4, note 28.

system of ‘individual booklets’ known to have been used in book production in Paris around the same time.<sup>361</sup> In such a case it should come as no surprise if the notated exemplars that gave rise to *V* have been lost. The next section asks what other surviving manuscripts might have been involved in *V*’s copying, or perhaps shared the same fragmentary sources.

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<sup>361</sup> See the discussion of the five late thirteenth-century *Adenet* manuscripts in Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 110–113.



## 2. Genetics Redeemed? Melodic Relationships as Clues to Fragmentary Exemplars

Based on choices surrounding the notation of pitch and syllabification, it is possible to describe *V*'s relationships with other sources and to recognize types of variance. The comparison of musical readings is a very old method, but here it serves a novel purpose: that of identifying the varied musical influences on a given manuscript and the interplay between scribes and exemplars that facilitated these influences. Before such a description can be undertaken for *V*'s music notators, it is crucial to establish which changes really are deliberate musical alterations. The following section is thus devoted to exploring the whole range of types of melodic change between manuscripts. Grier's adaptation of the Lachmannian triad of clear errors, plausible readings, and good readings categorizes variance types only from the perspective of the editor.<sup>362</sup> Approaching from the scribal perspective in a shorter article, Grier offers three other categories of relationship between copy and exemplar where any lemma is concerned: correct copying, incorrect copying, and deliberate alteration of the text.<sup>363</sup> To these I would add two possibilities: first, alteration not to the text, but to its presentation (a distinction Grier makes elsewhere in his work, as we have seen).<sup>364</sup> Second, unintentional alteration of a copy to fit a mental image of the melody. This is perhaps what Aubrey is hinting at when she calls the troubadour scribes 'active agents, either consciously or unconsciously', and it is certainly in

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<sup>362</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, p. 30. Busby offers a different categorisation into variants likely to recur coincidentally between families, and those unlikely to be committed more than once, see Keith Busby, ed., *Chrétien de Troyes: Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte de Graal: Édition critique d'après tous les manuscrits* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1993), pp. XLII–III.

<sup>363</sup> Grier, 'Scribal Practices', p. 386.

<sup>364</sup> *Idem*, *Critical Editing*, p. 42 'Some textual alterations do not change the substance of the symbol...'

keeping with the evidence she examines.<sup>365</sup> The scribe's unconscious action in such a case is not an error but an accidental correction. These types of variance complicate any attempt to establish stemmata or family trees for trouvère sources. At the same time, patterns of variation invite speculation as to which sources *V*'s version is most closely affiliated with and furthermore, what the nature of that affiliation is.

The greatest obstacle to assigning a manuscript to a melodic 'family' is the vague boundary between variant readings, misreadings, and separate melodies. Any set of tools that can usefully assign each song version to a particular manuscript group would necessarily oversimplify the relationships between variants. It would also studiously exclude the possibility of oral transmission. Older ideas such as *Kontraposition* (Räkel interchanged this with the term *Neuekomposition* and, in the case of *R*, *Phantasiemelodien*) certainly require reformulation, but without knowing the process that led to this phenomenon, how can we encapsulate it in a single term?<sup>366</sup> Callahan's proposal, 'mélodies « marginales »' is a reaction to previous scholarly appraisals; his demonstration of the possibility that these melodies derive from lost troubadour songs implicitly calls into question the term '*unica melodique*'.<sup>367</sup> The pieces are unique only among extant copies which, perhaps, are not divulging the whole historical truth.

The theoretical issue runs even deeper than this. The simple action of swapping melodies presumes the existence of a stable melodic object, precisely what is being called into question in theories of variance. We have also seen from Chaillou-Amadiou's research that similarities between two melodies can always be found, leaving open the issue of whether re-used melodic formulae can be counted as

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<sup>365</sup> Aubrey, *Troubadours*, p. 65.

<sup>366</sup> Räkel, *Erscheinungsform*, p. 339.

<sup>367</sup> Callahan, 'Mélodies « marginales »', p. 75.

evidence of shared origins.<sup>368</sup> And, even if it can, is that enough to ensure that a medieval listener would have recognized such a changing melody at two points in time? This is the audience question Treitler seeks to address by an appeal to empirical methods: ‘how much can a piece be tinkered with...and still maintain its identity?’<sup>369</sup> It can be answered only by asking practitioners of a musical tradition what fell within the limits of a single work.<sup>370</sup> The medieval practitioners and users connected with chansonnier *V* are silent. The manuscript contains neither attributive rubrics found in *K* or *M* nor a descriptive explicit like that found in *R*. Pinpointing the distinction between melodies that contain variance but are the same, and those that share attributes but are different, is not a question that can be answered on musical grounds, or perhaps at all. To answer it would be tantamount to declaring for certain what the medieval mind imagined as the boundaries of a particular melody and its relation to the text: a claim far beyond the scope of this thesis. It is ultimately a futile task to ask what melodic similarities and differences mean for the status of a song as an entity; on the other hand, these comparisons are useful for tracing likely patterns of transmission.

To see all of these theoretical questions in practice, we need look no further than song 185, already cited above. What is most surprising about the erasures in this song and the missing notation for the opening of song 74 is that both of these melodies are (to borrow the terminology shared between Callahan and Le Vot), isolated melodies. As an illustration, all notated witnesses of song 185 are transcribed in Appendix C, Transcription 1; *V*’s version is unique in almost every respect. The

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<sup>368</sup> ‘... aucune version n’est une « récréation complète », il y a toujours des points communs ...’, Chaillou-Amadiéu, ‘Variantes musicales’, p. 81.

<sup>369</sup> Treitler, ‘History and Ontology’, p. 495 col. b.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 495–6.

high beginning of *V*'s song, its narrow range, the open cadences of verses 2 and 4 and the entire shape of the *cauda* contrast with the inter-related melodic families represented by *KLPX*, *O*, *U*, *AMT* and *a*. These, too, diverge in the *cauda*, but at least here the connections between them are comprehensible in the *pedes*. The missing notation at the top of *U* fol. 38v might offer a reason for the differences later in the piece: even if the same notation circulated for all the related versions, it would need to have been supplemented by other sources, memory, or invention. Schubert claims too that the *R* and *V* versions 'haben nichts miteinander gemein'.<sup>371</sup>

Differences between versions of trouvère melodies are easy to find for anyone looking for them. So too are similarities. The identical endings of verses 2 and 4 in *R* and *V* (at fourth transposition) are difficult to ignore. We might follow Chaillou-Amadiéu's radical stance and take this as definite evidence of shared parentage between the two. Perhaps even stopping there is premature; what of the shared pitches between *V* and *X* at the end of verse 3? Might the flourish on the final two syllables of *KLPX* have been redistributed over the entire word in *V*? Is there a similar relationship between the last three pitches in *V*, *L*, and *R*, on the word *outramer* in verse 8? Meanwhile, *R*'s opening seems to be a precise inversion of that in *KLX*. This would be variance of an entirely different order than that between, for example, *O* and *K*, where the opening ascent to the fifth and then the seventh is realized differently in each. To arrive at *R* from *V*, the melody would have needed to undergo so many permutations that it seems more likely the shared turn at the end of verse 2 was employed in two different performances or in two independent compositional moments than that it was preserved through the rest of the musical transformation.

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<sup>371</sup> Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, p. 142.

We are probably safe in concurring with Schubert's assessment. The challenge is to determine firm criteria for all liminal cases.

Even using relatively rigid and arbitrary distinctions is enough to uncover transmission patterns in *V*. I have counted two melodic versions as belonging to different families of the same melody where a relationship in contour and pitch (be it a relation by transposition, modal reconfiguring, or elaboration in one or the other source) can be established for a sustained passage of the song, defined as at least two verses. As a result, some melodies that share as much as a whole phrase verbatim will still be treated as distinct. In order to assign melodic versions to melodic families, I followed similarly heuristic methods. Shared mode (with or without accidentals), shared transposition level, and (where it constitutes a majority of the piece) verbatim reproduction of note groupings are weighted in ascending order of importance. The form of the melodies is much less relevant: two unrelated melodies could easily adopt the ubiquitous bar form and a through-composed piece might be regularized to contain repetition in one or more versions.

Before proceeding to the sections of the manuscript and how their musical contents relate to other exemplars, it is necessary to describe each of the different types of relationships found using concrete examples; the types of variance in individual melodies will lead us to suspect different sources for different sections of the manuscript and allow us to assign tentative familial groupings for those sources. In broad overview, *V*'s melodies agree most with those of *Mt* or the *KNPX* group, those of *R* or *O*, or no other sources at all. Where *V*'s melody does resemble that in another source, it may be notated the same way (i.e., at the same transposition level, with the same choice of ligatures), with probable errors, easily traced to graphical causes (e.g., transpositions of a tone, third or fifth, omissions of notes), or with more

extreme differences (e.g. transpositions by a fourth or sixth, differences in ornamentation, change of mode, total divergence of one or more passages). The following representative examples outline the evidence from melodic similarities and divergences: the relevant comparisons are between *V* and *R*, and between *V* and *KNPX*. However, for some melodies the point of interest is precisely that they are dissimilar from any other melody accompanying the same text. I will begin with the relationship between *R* and *V* and thus follow up the work of Schubert, referenced above. In this case, the similarities between melodies persist despite differences in how the music is presented. I will then turn to the extreme of divergence and address the unique melodies, those which have no discernible relationship to the music provided for the same text in other sources. This type of divergence characterizes 126 of the songs in *V*, just under half of the songs notated in at least one other manuscript and considerably more than either the songs that concord with *KNPX*, *M* or with *R* or *O*. Finally, I will turn to songs comparable between *V* and *KNPX*. In this case, two different types of relationship can be found in the melodies: minor variance and near graphical identity. It is only this final case that can be taken as evidence of direct copying, as it is both the music and the notation that supports this view. The stark contrast between literal copying from *KNPX* and completely unique melodies provides the basis for the most significant finding of this chapter.

## 2.1 *V* and *R*: Common Melodic Variants without Evidence of Copying

Despite *V*'s close melodic similarities to the *KNPX* group, the manuscript most commonly cited in connection with *V* is the notated section of chansonnier *R*. Several authors since Karp and Schubert have remarked on the relationship, treating it as

common knowledge. Râkel notes it in passing, as do van der Werf and Bahat and Le Vot, each as a means of supporting their respective *idées fixes*. For Bahat and Le Vot, *R* and *V*'s divergent agreements are simply more evidence for Zumthorian *mouvance*:

C'est ainsi souvent le cas pour les chansonniers V et R confrontés au reste de la tradition. L'historien de la musique se trouve donc en présence d'un texte musical protéiforme, et la notion de *mouvance* avancée par Paul Zumthor au sujet du texte poétique et littéraire médiéval semble s'appliquer plutôt mieux encore au matériau mélodique des chansons de Blondel de Nesle.<sup>372</sup>

Râkel's aim is rather to separate out the two manuscripts as often as possible and thus disregard their readings of certain songs for his chronological purposes. He does, however, acknowledge the occasional difference between the two, as when describing *Ahi amours con dure departie*, RS 1125:

R und V sind wie häufig kaum mehr mit den anderen Fassungen zu vergleichen; aber während V noch Zusammenhänge mit der Gruppe KNPX erkennen lässt, ist R eine Komposition im Stil der zahlreichen Kontraposita dieser Handschrift.<sup>373</sup>

O'Neill goes further, pairing the two manuscripts in a single subsection in her overview of the trouvère sources in her chapter on transmission.<sup>374</sup> She bolsters Schubert's melodic comparisons by noting that the two sources make use of similar notational signs (while avoiding some others, such as the elongated noteheads employed in *A* and *a* or the much more ubiquitous vertical strokes in *L*). While scholars often imply that *R* is *V*'s closest relative, in fact, only a sixth of *V*'s songs (approximately 55) discernibly share a melody with those in *R*. Of those 55 melodies, 34 are just as close to *KNPX* and another 9 appear in common with various other sources. This leaves twelve melodies that appear only in *R* and *V* and it is the undeniable similarity displayed by these pieces (often with stark contrasts to an

<sup>372</sup> Bahat and Le Vot, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>373</sup> Râkel, *Erscheinungsform*, p. 56.

<sup>374</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 155–7.

alternative melody attested by the ‘central’ chansonniers) that supports the hypothesis of a relationship between the two sources.

The most compelling argument for a close relation between *R* and *V* is the six isolated melodic versions roughly shared between them that contrast with the extant melodies for the same texts in other sources (nos. 61, 186, 194, 227, 230, 287). Example 5.3 (song 230, RS 1767) illustrates the relationship between *R* and *V*, and just how distant the *KNPX* group is.<sup>375</sup> Even though this is by far the clearest example of *R* and *V*’s affinity, there are still considerable disagreements between the two versions. Their A section (vv. 1–2) begins and ends on the same pitches, they share ligatures on syllables 1.2 and 2.2, and their melodic motion is, generally speaking, in parallel. Yet *R* is often a tone lower than *V*, its range is different and while *V* repeats its opening section in verses 3–4, *R* turns away from it entirely. The sources have at least agreed to disagree with *K*, yet when hunting for similarities between verses 3–4 in that source and the equivalent in *R*, it is disturbingly difficult to come up empty-handed. Schubert’s technique of using vertical lines to point out melodic alignments and displacements between the two sources (*Dislokation*) make his case clearly.<sup>376</sup> His use of it to demonstrate filiation however relies on the assumption that oral transmission could function essentially as a closed tradition, not allowing for cross-family influence. Further, he assumes a melody was a defined entity, able to transform in a large but finite number of ways from one performance to the next.

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<sup>375</sup> ‘Die Verwandschaft von R und V zeigt sich noch deutlicher in dem Lied Rayn. 1767, ebenfalls von Perrin d’Angecourt und in den Hss V, K und N...da die Fassungen der Hss R und V teilweise erheblich von der Haupttradition abweichen.’ Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, p. 124. Schubert transcribes only verse 6 by way of illustration.

<sup>376</sup> Schubert’s demonstration that *R* and *V*’s versions of RS 437 are related by a horizontal shift of the music with respect to the text is an intriguing and useful result for the study of text underlay; see *ibid.* p. 130 and my ‘Glissements de texte, Leçons « fautives » du texte et de la musique dans le chansonnier de trouvères Ms. F-Pn fr. 24406’, forthcoming, delivered as ‘Transposed Texts: Mis-Reading Note and Word in the Trouvère Ms. F-Pn fr. 24406’, at the ‘1<sup>er</sup> Congrès international franco-italien: Qui dit tradition dit faute? La faute dans les corpus chantés du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance’ in St-Guilhem-le-désert 21–24 May 2017.



## Ex. 5.3 *R* and *V* against *K*

*Biau m'est du tens de gaïn qui verdoie*, RS 1767

*K* page 301

1. Biau m'est du tens de ga - ïm qui ver - doi - e ; 2. que tout sont vert bois et pré et bui - sson

*N* fol. 59r

Biau m'est du tens de ga - ïm qui ver - doi - e ; que tout sont vert bois et pré et bui - sson .

*O* fol. 20r

Biau m'est dou tans des ce qui ren - ver - doi - e . que tuit sunt vert bois et preyet boi - sson .

*R* fol. 111r

Biau m'est du tampsde gain qui ra - ver - doie que tuit sont vert bos - chet pré et bu - i - sson .

*V* fol. 93r

Biau m'est du tenz de ga - ïn qui ver - doi - e . que tuit sont vert bois et pré et bui - sson .

*K*

3. mes n'est pas ce qui a chan - ter m'a - voi - e 4. g'i sai a - ssez plus jo - li - e a - choi-son

*N*

mes n'est pas ce qui a chan - ter m'a - voi - e ; g'i sai a - ssez plus jo - li - e a - chai-son .

*O*

mais n'est pas ce qui a chan - ter m'a - voi - e . g'i sai a - ssez plus jo - li - e a - choi-son .

*R*

mays n'est pas ce qui a chan - ter m'a - voi - e . g'i sai a - ssez plus jo - li - e a - choi-son .

*V*

mes n'est pas ce qui a chan - ter ma - voi - e . g'i ai a - ssez . plus jo - li - e a - choi-son

*K* 5. c'est ma da - me dont non - mer n'os le non . 6. en quiser - vir tout monpo - voir en - ploi - e ;

*N* c'est ma da - me dont non - mer n'os le non . en quiser - vir tout monpo - voir en - ploi - e ;

*O* c'est ma da - me donc n'os non - mer le non . en cuiser - vir tot monpo - oir em - ploi - e .

*R* c'est ma da - me dont n'os non - mer le nom . en quiser - vir tout monpo - oir em - ploi - e .

*V* c'est ma da - me dont n'os non - mer . le non en qui ser - vir tout monpo - oir en - ploi - e .

*K* 7. et si m'o - cit en lieu de gue - rre - don .

*N* et si m'o - cit en lieu de gue - rre - don .

*O* et si m'o - cit en leu de guie - rre - don .

*R* et si m'o - chist en lieu de gue - rre - don .

*V* et si m'o - cit en leu de gue - rre - don .

Examples like this one, where *R* and *V* share a ‘divergent’ melody are less numerous than those in which *R* is completely isolated while *V* closely matches the *KNPX* group. Sixteen examples can be found where *R* is isolated from *KNPX* and *V*; in all but two of these cases, *R* witnesses a completely unrecognizable melody.<sup>377</sup> A good representative is song 26, *Li rosignols chante tant* (RS 360), notated in eight manuscripts including *V* and two renditions in *R*, one classified by Callahan as an ‘*unicum* mélodique’ the other as ‘concordante’.<sup>378</sup> *V* is extremely similar to *KX* throughout: *V* transposes four notes down by third in verse 2 and inserts one note in verse 3 and in the *cauda*, reduplicates a D in verse 5 and inserts a binaria in verse 8 (to avoid eliding *estre* and *oiz*). In the version on fol. 170r of *R*, the divergences from *Mt* are not much more significant than *V*’s from *KX*: *R* replaces four ligatures with single notes, transposes three notes by a tone and adds three ligatures in the final verse, but that is the full extent of its variance. In contrast, the copy of the song on fol. 72r of *R* truly can be described as an isolated melody. The range, contours, placement of ligatures, placement of high-points and low-points, and mode all differ from those in any other source. Its only commonality with *V* is the cadence on G in verse 1, and the descent of a third in verse 3 (see Appendix C, Transcription 2).

I find no examples where the converse is true, though there are certainly cases where *V* and *R* each diverge considerably from the other sources, as in song 191 *Par quel forfeit et par quele ochoison* (RS 1876a), or where these two manuscripts are the only notated witnesses to a piece; even in this final case, *R* and *V* sometimes have

<sup>377</sup> In songs 23, 26, 114, 240, 261\*-2, 269, 291, 299, *V* is faithful (slavishly so in the first two) to the version in *KNPX* while *R* substitutes an entirely different melody. In 20, 165, 191, 209, 210 and 229, *V* is closely related to *KNPX* (the same note-for-note correspondence can be seen in 20 as above) while *R* contains a distant, barely recognizable cousin of the same core melody. In song 280, *V* agrees with *O*, while *R* offers an isolated melody and in 146, *V* and *a* concur at the expense of *R*. In 177, *R* has only the beginning of what looks like an isolated melody while *V* has contours distantly related to the other sources.

<sup>378</sup> See Callahan, ‘Mélodies marginales’, p. 80, Table 3, p. 78, and Figure 1, p. 85.

conflicting melodies, as in song 278.<sup>379</sup> Even in cases where the isolated version in *R* is closer to *V* than to any of the other sources, *V* is often much more at home with *K* and *X* and occasionally *Mt* than it is with either version in *R*; we can see this in the opening six syllables and final verse of *Par quel forfet* (Example 5.4).

This holds more generally for Schubert's comparisons between *R* and *V*: if *R*'s closest relative is *V*, this does not automatically mean *V*'s closest relative is *R*. *V* might in some cases represent the beginning of metamorphosis in a direction that would culminate at the extreme in *R*'s version, but in such a case it is also possible the only similarities between *R* and *V* go back to an archetype shared by all extant sources. The fact that the discernible commonalities between *R* and *V* are dwarfed by *V*'s close affinity to *KNPX* highlights the strength of the connection between *V* and *KNPX*.

O'Neill seems to be aware of these realities. For her, the similarity between *R* and *V* is one of situation: both sources were copied at least in part by ear, or from scrappy sources that had more in common with a practical, performance-based network of transmission than with the careful transcriptions shared between luxury sources. She acknowledges that often, when *R* or *V* presents a unique melody, the other source adheres to the main tradition, and occasionally, each source presents a different unique melody.<sup>380</sup> O'Neill's argument for grouping the two together relies, at least in part, on identifying a similar type of melody, displaying what she terms 'the later syllabic style'. Yet even in Example 5.3, *V* has twice as many ligatures as *R*, in fact two more even than *K* if repeated notes and plicas are excluded. This is hardly enough to constitute a melismatic style, but enough to distinguish *V*'s melody from

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<sup>379</sup> *R*: fol. 62v *V*: fol. 109v.

<sup>380</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 155–7.

## Ex. 5.4 *R* against *V* and *K*

*Par quel forfait ne par quele ochoison, RS 1876a*

*M* fol. 170v

1. Par quel for - fait ne par que-le o - choi - son 2. m'a - vez a - mors si de vos es-lon - gié

*K* page 101

Par quel for - fet et par que-le a - che - son m'a - vez a - mors si de vous es-loi - gnié

*V* fol. 77v

Car quel for - fet et par quel-e a - choi - son m'a - vez a - mours si de vouz es-loi - gnié

*R* fol. 46v

Par quel mes - fait ne par que-lle a - choi - son m'a - vez de vos a - mours si es-loin - gnié

*M*

3. que de vos n'ai con-fort ne gua - ri - son 4. ne je ne truis qui de moi ait pi - tié

*K*

c'on - ques de vous n'oi gré ne gue-rre - don ne je ne truis qui de moi ait pi - tié

*V*

c'on - ques de vous ne me vint se mal non et fi-ne truiiz qui de moi ait pi - tié

*R*

Que on-ques de vous n'oi gré ne gue - rre - don ne je n'i truis qui de moi ait pi - tié

*M*

5. lonc tans m'a-ves si sans mer - ci lei - ssié 6. c'on - ques de vos ne me vint se maus non

*K*

a tort m'a-vez si sanz mer - ci le - ssié c'on - ques de vous ne me vint se mal non

*V*

a tort m'a-vez si sanz mer - ci le - ssié c'on - ques de vous n'oi gré ne gue - rre - don

*R*

A tort m'a-vez si sanz a - mour le - ssié que onques de vous ne me vint se maus non

M 7. n'en - co - re a - mors ne vos ai re - pro - chié 8. mon ser-vi-ce mes o - re m'en plaing gié

K n'on - cor - e a - mor ne vousai re - pro - chié mon ser-vi-se mes o - re m'en plaing je

V n'en - cor a - mors ne vousai re - pro - chi-é mon ser-vi-ce mes o - re m'en plaing gi - é

R N'en - cor - e a - mours ne vousai re - pro - chié mon ser-vi-ce mes or me plaing gié

M 9. et di que mort m'a-vez sanz ra - en - çon

K et di pour mort m'a-vez sanz a - che son

V et di que mort m'a-vez sanz a-choi - son

R et di quemors m'a-vez saus a - choi-son

the extreme syllabism of Moniot de Paris' *chansons* or of the sparser melodic versions in *R* like *Biau m'est du tens*. O'Neill's examples point towards a style reliant almost exclusively on single notes. The unique melody for song 43, *Par dieu sire de Champagne et de Brie* (RS 1111 and fol. 20v in *V*) is the perfect counterargument: it is not melismatic in the sense of chant, but then trouvère melody never is. Comparing *V*'s 17 ternaria and 11 binaria in the space of 85 syllables to *K*'s mere five binaria and single ternaria in the same song shows how far *V*'s notator was from adopting a syllabic style.<sup>381</sup> Averaging three ligatures per line makes *V*'s reading of RS 1111 easily as florid as the average trouvère song.

The connections from melodies in *V* to those in *R* are thus generally tenuous; what relationship there was must have been mediated by years of transmission in a number of lost sources. There are no examples of completely literal copying between these two manuscripts. Occasionally, both exhibit a change in transposition level from the other sources, or the omission of the same note. In song 171, *Il feroit* (RS1428), both *R* and *V* rearrange the first line of music in a similar manner (Example 5.5).<sup>382</sup> While in the other sources, the first note is a C, these two renditions begin a note later, on the D. For Schubert, this is more evidence of a shared 'repertoire'; if we were instead to look for an explanation relating to written tradition, it could just as easily start from an exemplar where a decorated initial covered over the beginning of the melody.<sup>383</sup> The fact that *R* contains roughly the same reading might be a strong argument for a shared notated exemplar of this particular song.

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<sup>381</sup> The song appears in *K* p. 38 and *X* fol. 39r as well as *Mt* fol. 70r and *O* fol. 96 with a few more ligatures. Callahan, Grossel, and O'Sullivan, *Textes et mélodies*, song 42 pp. 388–93, 717–20; *V*'s melody is edited separately with the other unique melodies, p. 509.

<sup>382</sup> *K*: p. 154, *N*: fol. 48v, *O*: fol. 69r, *P*: fol. 156v, *R*: fol. 76r, *X*: fol. 105v and *V*: fol. 70v.

<sup>383</sup> Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, p. 130.

## Ex. 5.5 Shared Offset in *R* and *V*

*Il feroit trop bon morir*, RS 1428

*K* page 154

1. Il fe - roit trop bon mo - rir 2. pour oi - ssir hors de dan - gier

*O* fol. 69r

Il fe - roit trop bon mo - rir por i - ssir hors de don - gier

*V* fol. 70v

Il feroit trop bon mo - rir pour i - ssir hors de dan - gier

*R* fol. 76r

1. Il fe - roit trop bon mou - rir 2. pour i - ssir hors de den - gier

*K*

3. bien doi ma vi - e ha - ïr 4. quant ce - le point ne m'a chier

*O*

bien doi ma vi - e ha - ïr quant ce - le point ne m'a chier

*V*

bien doi ma vi - e ha - ïr quant [lacuna, fol. 71r]

*R*

3. bien doi ma vi - e ha - ïr 4. quant ce - le point ne m'a chier

*K*

5. quant je tant aim et de - sir 6. si me con - ven - dra a - ten - dre

*O*

que je tant aing et de - sir qu'il me co - ven - dra a - ten - dre

*V*

que je tant aing et de - sir si me cou - ven - dra a - ten - dre

*R*

5. que je tant aing et de - sir 6. Si me con - ven - dra a - ten - dre



Even if the same mechanical errors gave rise to both these sources, many of the differences between them suggest ‘re-transcription’ rather than copying. The same song is often transposed by step between these sources; the difference in placement on the staff is then compensated for by the use of accidentals. Song 287 (*Qvant fleurs et glais*, RS 1779=2119) is especially clear in this regard (Example 5.6).<sup>384</sup> The piece appears in *V* and *R* as well as in a collection of other sources, including *KNPX*. However, what both *V* and *R* present is distinct from that in the other versions, not quite a different melody, but estranged enough that similarities are more visible than audible. The notators of *R* and *V* were essentially dealing with a second melody, a different realisation of the common melodic strategy for treating this text. A pitch-specific notation of the first realisation became crystallized in *KLNPX* and *M, O, U*.

The notators of *V* and *R* by contrast, interpreted their shared realisation in two different ways. *V* starts a note higher than *R*, then skips *R*’s third note arriving early on the quinternaria. Because of its transposition, *V*’s rendering gives a different modal flavour from that appearing in *R*, and suggests something resembling a D-mode rather than a G-mode. Plausibly, an experienced singer would have seen the notation in *R* and immediately known to interpret the B on *glais* as a flat. Why, in that case did the notator bother to indicate the flat in verse 2? If we assume that the flat is implicit in the first verse, we could interpret *V*’s transposition level as merely the most sensible and consistent for the melody. On the other hand, we might take *R*’s hesitation in accidentals to indicate that the melody as sung or as imagined did not readily conform to the system of the staff. It would be easy to imagine transposition errors of any magnitude arising out of attempts to reconcile, for example, a chromatic melody with solmization on the one hand and with the intervals around the C-clef on the other.

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<sup>384</sup> *K*: p. 70; *R*: fol. 117v; *V*: fol. 113v.

## Ex. 5.6 Shared Retranscription in *R* and *V*

*Quant fleurs et glais et verdure/Quant glace et vois et froidure*, RS 1779/2119

*V2* fol. 151r

1. quant gla-ce *et* vois *et* froi-du - re s'es-loi - gne 2. que cil oi - sel ne fi - nent de chan-ter

*K* page 70

1. Quant fleur set glais *et* ver - du - re s'es - loi - gne ; 2. que cil oi - sel no-sent un mot so - nner .

*M* fol. 37v

Quant flours *et* glais . *et* ver - du - re s'es - loi - gne . que cist oi - sel n'o-sent un mot sou- ner .

*U* fol. 8r

Quant flors *et* glais *et* ver - du - re s'es-loi - gne . que cil oi - sel n'o-sent un mot so - ner

*R* fol. 117v

Quant fuei - lle glais *et* ver - du - re . s'es - loi - ngnent que cil oi - sel n'o-sent .i. mot so - nner .

*V* fol. 113v

Quant fleurs . *et* glais *et* ver - du - re s'es - loi - gne . que cil oi - sel n'o-sent .i. mot . so - nner .

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*V2*

3. lors est rai - son que tou - te riens ra - doi - gne 4. a la da - me des an - ges ho - nno-rer

*K*

3. pour la froi - dor chascuns do-te *et* re - soi - gne ; 4. jusqu'au biau tens que il seu - lent chan- ter .

*M*

pour la froi - dour chascuns dou-te *et* re - soi - gne . trus-qu'al biau tanz que il soe - lent chan-ter .

*U*

pour la froi - dor chascuns do-te *et* re - soi - gne ; jus - q'a bel tens qu'il re - sue - lent chan-ter

*R*

pour la froi - dour . chascuns dou-bte *et* re - sou - gne jus-qu'au biau tamps que il seu - lent chan-ter

*V*

pour la froi - dour chas-cuns dou - te *et* re - sou - gne jus - que au biau tans . ou il seu - lent chan-ter .

V2 8 5. en cui s'enclost pour le mon - de sau - ver 6. li rois des jois qui les maus nos par - doi - gne

K 8 5. ce chan-te - rai car ne puis ou - bli - er . 6. la douce riens dont dex joi - e me doi - gne ;

M 8 maiz pour ce chant . que ne puis ou - bli - er ; la dou-ce reinz dont dex joi - e me doi - gne ;

U 8 lors chan-te - rai qui ne puis o - bli - er . la dol-ce a-mor dont dex joi - e me doi - gne .

R 8 or chan-te - rai que ne plus ou - bli - er . la douce riens dont diex joi - e mi doin - gne .

V 8 or chan-te - rai car ne puis . ou - bli - er . la douce riens dont diex . joi - e me vie - gne .



V2 8 7. donc nos de - vons les pai - nnes re - dou-ter .

K 8 7. car de li sont mi bon et mi pen-ser .

M 8 quar de li sunt . et vie - nent . mi pen-ser .

U 8 car de li sont et mue-vent mei pen-ser .

R 8 quar de li sont mi bien et mi pen-ser .

V 8 car de li sont . mi bien . et mi pen-ser .

In the event, the notators found two different pitch levels for approximately the same music. Yet *V*'s version does not treat the pitch A in a modally analogous way to *R*'s treatment of G. This might be through the interference of a written source at a different transposition level; some moments, such as note-group 3 of verse 2 are copied at the same level as in *R*. The repeated flexion to F undermines the force of A as a final, making it easier to interpret A as a secondary focal point and verses 2 and 4 as ending with open cadences. In fact, *V*'s final is a G instead of the A predicted if the piece were an exact transposition. The attraction of the pitch F is palpable in *R* as well, but as an alternate chain of thirds to the final rather than an expected resting place.

It is unlikely that *V* ever saw the source *R* or vice versa, and there is insufficient evidence to claim that they shared a notated exemplar. Schubert sees the degraded quality and dislocations of text and music in *R*'s melodies evidence of 'eine schriftliche Überlieferung über mehrere Handschriftengenerationen' something that could explain the coexistence of similarities and differences between the two sources, though probably not their divergence from *KNPX* and *MT*.<sup>385</sup> It is here that van der Werf's comments are potentially enlightening: we recall that he entertained written and oral transmission as equally plausible possibilities for 'questionable' melodies. His assumption was that thanks to several independent initial transcriptions of a piece, manuscripts of higher grade (such as *M* and *T*) might collect versions originating from different performances of a basically similar melody for their notation of the music. In some cases, he even conjectured 'the two scribes of T and M derived their versions of these chansons from the same performer but on different occasions'.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris*, p. 31.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

While *V* and *R* do seem to hint at problems of transcribing melody by ear and fitting sound onto a grid of discrete pitches, the exact relationship between the manuscripts and performance remains unknowable. *V* and *R* might have employed different notated exemplars that had been copied down from the same performance. Alternatively, they might have a shared descent from a source copied by an unabashedly inventive scribe. The only confident conclusion to be drawn is that *V* and *R* preferred different means of notating the same basic melodies. Example 5.6 demonstrated this where transposition was concerned; in Part III of this thesis, I will examine how this applies to choice of ligatures in order to address O'Neill's justification for considering *R* and *V* in conjunction.

## 2.2 *V* 'Clamans in Deserto': Melodic Eccentricity

By far the most common type of melody in *V* is one that cannot be related to the versions for the same text in other sources. Following the criteria described above, I have been able to identify over 100 such cases throughout *V*.<sup>387</sup> In Table 10.2 of Appendix B, they are marked with asterisks. Denying all relationship between two melodic versions has its dangers; any of these supposedly distinct melodies may in fact originally be derived from a common melodic practice, in or out of notation. Relationships between sources may be obscured by transposition or eyeskip; shifted text underlay is another likely culprit and careful examination of each song is necessary before determining that any melody in *V* diverges from its cousins

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<sup>387</sup> Callahan's methodology for the tables in 'Mélodies « marginales »' leans toward a broader definition of melodic unica than that outlined above. It is worth noting his conclusions and my own, arrived at through independent investigations, are identical for Thibaut's chansons. The only discrepancy is due to my inclusion of another song with a concordant melody, my number 56, *Qui plus aime plus endure* (RS 2095). I place this before RS 741, following *V*'s ordering; this song is ordered differently in other chansonniers.

completely. In instances where melodic contours, cadence points and patterns of repetition (especially in the *frons*) are completely different, it is fair to qualify this as variance of a different order, closer to reinvention than evolution.

Following van der Werf's interventions, various hypotheses have been advanced to explain the origins of the songs, chief among them those championed by Elizabeth Aubrey for the troubadours and adopted by Mary O'Neill for the trouvères.<sup>388</sup> In a chiefly oral culture, the freedom of performers and scribes to alter melodies allowed for new inventions as well as significant alterations. In O'Neill's view, the existence of multiple melodies for the same text shows the 'changes in taste' of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>389</sup> Aubrey and O'Neill both remain silent on the question of whether these 'attempts at renewing the songs' were initiated by scribes, or within an oral tradition. However, O'Neill does note that the 'resurrections and recompositions' found in *M*, *R*, *V*, and *A* are 'consistent with a pattern observed in oral repertoires throughout the world, whereby if the oral tradition is to survive, it adapts to changing taste'.<sup>390</sup>

It is notable that O'Neill limits her study to the music of four trouvères and thus neglects the surprising number of unique melodic versions in *V* for prominent early trouvères including Thibaut de Champagne, Gace Brulé, and Chatelain de Coucy. She goes even further in the case of *R*, resurrecting Schwan's and Schubert's

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<sup>388</sup> 'It is sometimes difficult to be certain whether different melodies for a single poem exist because the composer gave the poem two musical settings, or a singer created a new melody in place of the composer's, or a scribe provided a new melody for a poem for which he could not find music.' Aubrey, *Troubadours*, pp. 55–6; O'Neill, *Love Songs*, *passim*, esp. Chapter 5 part 2, pp. 152–73.

<sup>389</sup> 'Quant au manuscrit *A*, il appartient, sur le plan de la musique, à un sous-groupe de ce que j'ai appelé la "seconde phase" de la tradition manuscrite, une phase en général légèrement postérieure aux manuscrits de "première phase... Les mélodies unique représentent des essais visant à renouveler les chansons de Gautier de Dargies par le biais de la mélodie afin de les adapter aux changements de goût survenus dans les dernières années du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', O'Neill, 'L'art mélodique dans "les chanz fors et pesans" de Gautier de Dargies', *Revue de Musicologie* 81 (1995), pp. 165–90 at pp. 168–9.

<sup>390</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 157–8.

suggestion that the manuscript was connected with a *puy* and pushing it to the extreme: ‘it is feasible that their apparently hasty compilation may be connected in some way with the attempt to record live performances’.<sup>391</sup> As for *V*, the ‘similarly unsystematic and less than rigorous approach’ displayed in some parts of the manuscript ‘suggest that parts of its repertoire may well have been compiled in like circumstances’.<sup>392</sup>

Callahan’s conclusions are much more open to the role of written transmission in the pre-history of the unique songs. His final statement suggests interaction between oral and literate processes in the events that brought us these melodies:

...ils semblent avoir subi des modifications sous la plume des scribes qui leur donnent un caractère propre...Les mélodies isolées qui nous proviennent sont donc hétéroclites, reçues de la tradition mais retouchées par ceux qui les léguaient à la postérité.<sup>393</sup>

Callahan leaves open the question of whether the ‘tradition’ from which the melodies were received by the scribes was an oral or a written one, but leans toward the belief that they did circulate in lost sources.<sup>394</sup> Callahan notes that the *R* scribes, like our Notator 1, refrained from inventing music to fill blank staves, enough to discount the scribal composition hypothesis. Thanks to the foregoing codicological analysis of *V*, it is possible to pronounce in favour of the ‘cahiers déjà en circulation’ Callahan suspects.

Previous circulation in notation cannot be claimed with certainty for all of the unique melodies. The only definite evidence comes from the songs RS 160 and RS 185 examined above in sections 1.2 and 1.5. Even this much information is

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<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>393</sup> Callahan, ‘Mélodies « marginales »’, pp. 83–4.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

remarkable, as it shows that at least two unique melodies, whether they originated in performance or in writing, must have circulated in lost notated sources. Paradoxically, written circulation offers us more information than transcriptions from performance could. Any piece pointing directly back to oral tradition is a dead end for the scholar since we can only imagine what preceded it. Products of written transmission at least reveal ways scribes (if not performers) thought about the music. That there are distinct types of transmission and variance within written traditions is then all the more interesting.

For all the caveats stated in the introduction to this section, the unique melodies do argue eloquently for a separate ‘transmission type’. Song 42, the *Debat Phelipe je vous demant/Qu’est devenue* RS 333) offers an example of this high degree of divergence.<sup>395</sup> From the first line, it is clear that *V*’s melody has a different character from *KNPX*.<sup>396</sup> In the first case, the song outlines a gradual descent from an intonation on A which reaches E before falling quickly to C at the end of the line. The version in *V* is almost the opposite of this: the melody begins with an inexorable syllabic stepwise ascent from F, catapulted to C by a passing figure from B to G. A third conception of the opening is found in *R*: here, the entire verse is essentially reduced to an intonation, elaborating a simple descent of just one note. The melodies remain distinct throughout the entirety of the piece in terms of contour and even tonal centre: the final notes are D, E, and C, respectively.

Some melodies are more difficult to class, as we saw above in song 185, *Li nouviaus tens*. The most surprising examples are those Karp referred to as containing

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<sup>395</sup> Callahan, O’Sullivan, and Grossel, *Textes et mélodies*, song 41 pp. 382–7, notes pp. 712–16. Once again, in the edition, *V*’s melody appears separately, this time along with *R* on p. 508.

<sup>396</sup> The three melodic versions cited may be found in *V*: fol. 19v, *K*: p. 37 and *R*: fol. 81v.



‘deviated phrases’, like that we saw between *M* and *K* for song 185.<sup>397</sup> One such deviation may be found in song 210, the *Jeu-parti*, *Rois de Navarre et sires de vertuz* (RS 2063) Transcription 3 in Appendix C. When the overall range, contours and cadence points of each verse are compared between *V* and any of the other sources, *KNPX*, *M*, *T*, or the song’s contrafact, our manuscript seems to have an isolated melody. Yet there is a clear reference to the shared melodic version both at the beginning and the end. This particular example is one of the most extreme, as the deviation occurs immediately: it is simpler to think of it in opposite terms, as a mere evocation of the alternative melodic version followed by not a detour, but an independent approach to setting the text. We might think of this as a relative of the intertextual refrain, or perhaps the musical analogue to the poetic practice of beginning songs with the same opening, frequently *L’autrier je chevauchois* or *Quant voi la saison*. The divergent texts both beginning *J’ai par maintes foiz chanté* discussed above in section 1.5 are another textual example. A melodic reference would make particular sense for this song, in fact, since its melody is (in the non-*V* versions) identical to that of another *Jeu-parti* (*Bons rois Thibaut*) and a chanson (*Ma derreniere vuel fere*). One could even hypothesize this was an example of what Spanke describes as a hypothetical possibility: *V*’s melody along with the text *Rois de Navarre* was designed and sung with subtle reference to *Bons rois Thibaut* in mind. The common musical incipit then misled other scribes into recopying their melodies already used for that piece.<sup>398</sup> But the point is not that *V*’s version is authorial; only that its divergence might be rational and even intentional.

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<sup>397</sup> Karp, ‘MS Tradition’, at p. 29.

<sup>398</sup> Spanke, ‘Strophenformen und Melodie’, p. 98, see note 73 in Chapter 4, above.

From the perspective of secondary literature and of dividing the extant manuscripts into families of manuscripts, these deviated phrases certainly belong to the general class of *marginal* melodies. Could we then draw a distinction between divergent melodies and unique melodies, as Callahan does for *Je me cuidoie partir* (RS 2095) with its ‘*frons concordante*’?<sup>399</sup> The problem here is epistemological. A few minor copying errors or a single scribal tweak would be enough to disguise *Rois de Navarre* entirely and probably *Je me cuidoie* as well. The same transformations applied to a non-divergent melody in *V* could also produce the same result. We would then have no way of knowing that it ever bore any melodic relationship to extant sources. Drawing a line between *Par dieu seigneur* and *Rois de Navarre* as I have done is therefore arbitrary, though necessary: whatever the historical reality, there is no musical evidence of contact between *V*’s version and *K*’s version for the former; there is in the latter.

This decision is also arbitrary in that it is based on accidents of preservation. In most cases where *V* has a unique melody, the *KNPX* group and other sources such as *M* and *T* agree amongst themselves. Often, *R* has yet a third melody, as described above. Sources such as chansonnier *A* diverge frequently as well, and even at least one example of *M* departing completely from *KNPX* may be found. It requires only a little imagination to suspect that other ‘alternative sources’ or other witnesses to *V*’s once existed but are now lost. At the very least, such melodic inscriptions are just as likely to have circulated in unnotated form as the crystallized concordant melodies found in the other sources. In Appendix B, all instances where *V* has a unique melody are marked with a single sign, but they may in fact encompass a wide range of

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<sup>399</sup> Callahan, ‘Mélodies marginales’, Table 2, p. 76; *Rois de Navarre* addresses Thibaut without being attributed to him and thus does not figure in Callahan’s corpus.

sources, some written, some oral. Some might have been scribal inventions from late in the 13th century, others might have been in circulation well before the other melodies with which they contend. What they hold in common is that their closest melodic relatives are long since lost to us.

### 2.3 *V* and *KNPX*: Melodic Identity and Variance

Of the melodies in *V* that match versions in other sources, the majority have some relationship to the *KNPX* group. In some cases, this relationship is nearly literal, with *KNPX* and *V* even agreeing on choice of ligature. In song six (RS 1516), for example, *V* only differs from *K* with regards to a single ligature (Example 5.7).<sup>400</sup> In other cases, such as song 32, *V*'s divergences can easily be explained as mechanical errors when copying a member of the *KNPX* group.<sup>401</sup> In this case, *V*'s melody includes a transposition in the middle of verse 8 corresponding to a staff-change in *K* (Plate 5.7).<sup>402</sup>

In other melodies, *V* is further removed, yet *KNPX* still provides the closest match. In some cases, only the first few lines of *V*'s melody are recognizably related to the other sources.<sup>403</sup> Karp notes this in regards to R1559, *Quant li rosignols jolis* and coins the term 'deviated phrase' to describe it.<sup>404</sup> In other cases, *V* contains a melodic version midway between *KNPX* and other sources. Some examples still show the kind of graphical similarities between *K* and *V*, such as clef changes and ligature

<sup>400</sup> *V*: fol. 3r; *K*: p. 5. Callahan, O'Sullivan, and Grossel, *Textes et mélodies*, song 6, 'Variante mélodique', pp. 545–6. Here the edition's transcription is in error: I read *V*'s note on *son* as an augmentative plica, closer to *KNPX*'s E than to *Mt*'s F–E binaria. *V*'s transposition errors are more significant than its ligature changes.

<sup>401</sup> *V*: fol. 15r; *K*: p. 29.

<sup>402</sup> *V*: fol. 15r; *K*: p. 29.


<sup>403</sup> *V*: fol. 77v; *K*: p. 102.

<sup>404</sup> Karp, 'Tradition', p. 29.

## Ex. 5.7 Minimal Variance between $V$ and $K$


*Dame, c'est vostre fins amis, RS 1516*

*Mt fol. 59v*




Da - me c'ist vo - stre fins a - mis . qui tot son cuer a en vous mis .

*O fol. 32v*




Da - me c'iz vo - stre fins a - mis qui tout son cuer a en vous mis

*K page 5*



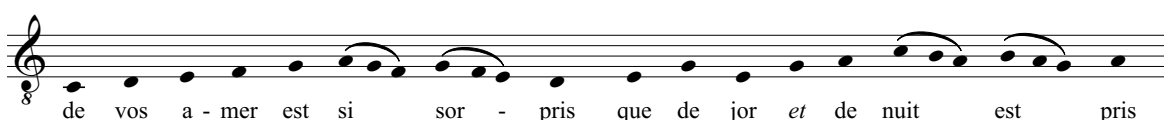
Da - me c'ist vo - stre fins a - mis . qui tout son cuer a en vous mis .

*V fol. 84v*



Da - me c'est vo - stre finz a - mis . qui tout son cuer a en vous miz .

*Mt*



de vos a - mer est si sor - pris que de jor *et* de nuit est pris

*O*



de vos a - mer est si so - pris que de jor *et* de nuit est pris .

*K*



de vos a - mer est si sor - pris ; que de nuit *et* de jor est pris .

*V*



de vous a - mer est si sor - pris ; que de nuit *et* de jor est pris .

choice, even while containing considerable musical differences. Examples of this type deserve separate consideration on a case-by-case basis, as do the ambiguous cases where *V* presents an interstitial melody between *KNPX* and other sources. These questions involve *V*'s relationship with chansonniers *R* and *O* and their examples are concentrated later in the manuscript, mostly in the hand of Notator 2. For the purposes of the tables, any songs that bear evident similarities to the versions both in *R* and *KNPX*, or *O* and *KNPX* will be indicated as such.

There are some 35 examples where *V* follows *KNPX* almost note-for-note, enough to form a satisfactory class of song within *V*. There are 25 more examples where members of the *KNPX* group are unambiguously the closest extant source of *V*'s melody. In a handful of examples, shared graphical elements confirm the musical relationships and argue strongly for some kind of written transmission. The close relationships between *K*'s, *N*'s, and *V*'s clefs (and *V*'s particularly complex relationship to their selection) will return in more detail in Chapter 6.

## 2.4 Melodic Transmission and Patterns of Compilation

Within the melodies copied by Notator 1, the method of melodic comparison reveals three sections, perhaps corresponding to different stages of musical copying. Within the first section, chanson melodies agree overwhelmingly with the *KNPX* group (fols. 1–16v). Particularly remarkable is the fact that every song in the section falls into the category of nearly literal agreement described in section 3.3 above. In the context of trouvère chansonniers, scholars have become used to expecting divergence rather than similarity; indeed, it is this widespread tendency toward extreme melodic variation that prompted Gennrich's and van der Werf's insistence on the role of oral

transmission. *KNPX* is the almost universally acknowledged exception to this trend, as the songs found in these four sources are almost always identical to each other. That *V* participates in this exceptional agreement completely contradicts the general characterisation of the manuscript familiar from Karp, Epstein and O'Neill. This oversight is understandable, as this remarkable agreement with *KNPX* applies only to the first 35 songs. When examining the manuscript as a unit, it is easy to overlook this similarity or attribute it to unusually consistent transmission of Thibaut de Champagne's chansons. As we shall see, the concordance between *V* and *KNPX* aligns not with author sections, but with gatherings and discrete sections distinguished by changing notational practice.

Even where the melodies of these first two gatherings diverge from *KNPX*, they adhere very closely to concordant versions in other related manuscripts. The most extended divergences from *KNPX* are found in no. 10, *Pour ce se d'amer me dueil*; where the melody of *V* occasionally meanders away from that in *K*, it instead resembles intonational figures from the version in *O*.<sup>405</sup> The divergences are relatively small; they might suggest that *V*'s exemplar for this section came from the *KNPX* complex via the same branch as *O*, or they could simply be parallel misreadings (or corrections to fit a sung version). The variation here is mostly limited to disagreement about individual pitches, easily explained by ambiguities caused by note-heads that touch a staff-line rather than covering it. In this repertoire, it is probably safe to take leaps within ligatures as the *lectio difficilior*; thus *V*'s replacement of *KNX*'s A with a B in verse 1.2 and 3.2 may be reasonably attributed to Notator 1.

Occasional divergences of ornamentation, a well-known characteristic of *O*, could originate from interpretative decisions made either by performers or editors and

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<sup>405</sup> *V*: fol. 3v, *K*: p. 6 and *O*: fol. 21v.

is not extreme enough to contradict the strong graphical similarities between the sources: we can definitely assert that the first 35 melodies of *V* are copied, not retranscribed. The similarities are visual as well as musical. Notator 1 has both plicas and two-note ligatures available, as well as the choice between two forms of descending ternaria, and yet it is rare to find an instance where *V* diverges from *K* in this regard (even when *O* and *K* do). In song six, for example, *V* differs from *K* only with regards to a single ligature, while in song five, despite the transposition in the second staff, both *V* and *K* assign plicas and descending binaria shapes to the same gestures.<sup>406</sup> This kind of agreement is rare between trouvère sources, in which substitutions of one ligature for another (or even one ornamental gesture for another) are common. Even more telling, however, is the frequency with which *V*'s choice of clefs matches *K*'s exactly. In song 32, *V*'s divergence in transposition in the middle of verse 8 corresponds to a staff-change in *K*.<sup>407</sup> This apparent slavish copying has little in common with the radical melodic departures later in the manuscript.

After the first 35 songs follows the second section, in which each of *V*'s melodies is completely unique (fols. 17–23), despite the continued textual concordances with *KNPX*. The series of unique melodies begins with no. 36 *Les douces dolours* (RS 662), and continues through the *Jeu-parti* section up to no. 52. The pieces notated in this section of the manuscript defy attempts at relation to the other sources and appear to be completely independent of each other. The number of ligatures, the contour, the melodic structure, and the modality differ between melodies accompanying the same text (for reference, a tally of the divergences for the first two gatherings compared to song 36 appears in Appendix B, Table 2). It is common

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<sup>406</sup> *V*: fol. 3r; *K*: p. 5.

<sup>407</sup> *V*: fol. 15r; *K*: p. 29.

among musicologists to note that the degree of variance for a given song often reflects its genre or its composer, but that seems to be irrelevant here. Every song in these first two sections is elsewhere attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, the very composer whose pieces are thought to have circulated in a separate *libellus*.<sup>408</sup> The association between author-collections and textual stability dates back to Gröber, who conceived of single-author (both extant and hypothesized) collections as *Liederbücher*, the intermediate stage between the *Liederblätter* and chansonniers.<sup>409</sup> The series of unique melodies includes the *Jeux-partis* of Thibaut as well as the chansons that immediately precede and follow them.

Finally, there follows a mixed group in which some melodies concord with *R*, others have no concordances, and some are ambiguous, perhaps representing an intermediate stage between two contrasting melodies for the same text. In this section, unique and concordant melodies are mixed. As Table 10.2 in Appendix B shows, there ceases to be a discernible pattern and a handful of unique melodies may be followed by two that roughly resemble *K* or *N*. Sequences of unica appear, as we saw in Table 1, but even these are relatively short, at a maximum of 9 songs in series. A considerable number of these melodies share elements with *KNPX* versions, but they are interspersed with unique melodies and with versions that have more in common with *R*. The songs copied by Notator 2 belong to each of the different categories of relationship between *V* and the other sources, except for the first: Notator 2 never copies as literally as Notator 1 did in the first 35 songs. Even if there are no further instances of near-identical melodies to *KNPX*, there is still reason to suspect a family link. The melodies that appear most distant to their counterparts in *K* and its cousins

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<sup>408</sup> Huot, *Song to Book*, p. 64; for a view grounded in the codicology of manuscript *M*, see Peraino, 'Roi', p. 161.

<sup>409</sup> Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen', pp. 342–3.



contain traceable connections. In some cases, there is reason to suspect the second *V* notator of creatively altering melodies copied directly from *KNPX*: the evidence of layout and clef changes to be discussed below show that *V*'s debt to the *KNPX* group did not end completely with the first 35 melodies. It is also possible to see melodic divergence as resulting from multiple generations of scribal change, particularly when some the various stages of alteration are attested by different sources.

For example, in the case of no. 59 *Feuille ne flours* (RS 324) *K* and *Mt* present the same melody in very different states.<sup>410</sup> The melodies provided for this particular piece in *K* and the rest of the *KNPX* group lack the elaboration of *Mt* and its closest relatives. This version approaches what O'Neill dubs the 'syllabic style' of chanson melodies.<sup>411</sup> The alternate melodic version, witnessed in five sources, including *Mt* and *a*, is at a higher transposition level and contains much more florid motion, including a three- or four-note melisma at practically every cadence. Between these two stylistic poles falls the version in *V*. The notator places it at a still higher pitch level (though perhaps this could be attributed to a transposition error in the first two lines), but otherwise it adheres most closely to *K*. It lacks the high frequency of melisma present in *Mt*, but it does retain the cadential flourishes, missing from *K*. This relationship goes beyond the 're-transcription' described above and probably requires multiple restructurings of the song: it is implausible to imagine *V* copying directly from either *Mt* or *K* in this case.

From this documentation, it would be foolhardy even to attempt a chronological account of the versions. The version in *V* might well be the earliest,

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<sup>410</sup> *V*: fol. 27r, *K*: p. 52 and *M*: fol. 69r. The melodic versions have been edited in Callahan, Grossel, and O'Sullivan, *Textes et mélodies*, song 38 pp. 368–71 for *Mt*'s version and full text, p. 505 for *V* and *KNX*'s version, pp. 696–701 for notes.

<sup>411</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 154–9.

from which descendants diverged in two directions, or it might represent the midpoint of a gradual shift between florid and syllabic (in either direction). A still more interesting possibility is that the versions of the melody reflect the varying preferences of scribes, performers, or patrons. If oral transmission played a role in the variance between these three melodic versions, it is even more exciting to be able to compare snapshots of medieval music in motion.

This information, coupled with the evidence of a stylistic shift in the notation to be addressed in the following chapter, strongly suggests a scenario in which the notators consulted different exemplars for different sections of the manuscript: it is clearest at the beginning, where Notator 1 evidently had access to a very close relative of the *KNPX* group; the alternative melodies from fols. 17 to 23 may then have been copied from a lost exemplar (and a stemmatological dead end), while from fol. 23, the notators depended on whatever source was available for the particular piece. Some sources' melodies resembled those in *KNPX*, others shared echoes in *R*. How the notators treated the music in front of them is the subject of the following chapter. Where there is minimal change, as at the beginning of the manuscript, the evidence is most conclusive: that the compilation of *V* was effected from written sources. The evidence is just as conclusive that *V*'s notators could not rely on a single source for all of the melodies.

### 3 Conclusion

The subtle relationships between versions of each individual trouvère song give the impression of impossibly complex interconnecting networks of transmission, copying, influence, and re-invention. A global view of even a single source, *V*, would reach the point of incomprehensible complexity in order to accommodate the numerous counterexamples that contradict any generalized theory. And yet, pulling together the few strands described above may produce some kind of tapestry.

The methods of examination used in this last two chapters put into musicological practice a point of view inherited from theories surrounding medieval textual studies. A renewed look at melodic variants, far from being a throw-back to classical philology, is a method for investigating how musical transmission worked. This enables us (in the following three chapters) to create scribal profiles for their own sake, rather than as filters to be eliminated in the pursuit of the original. If a text scribe could be a kind of medieval literary critic, music scribes could perform a kind of melodic analysis.

The challenges to isolating scribal interpretation are analogous to those inherent in reconstructing archetypes, only in reverse. Useful for the philologist are inherited errors, of interest here only insofar as they show where the notator placed excessive trust in the exemplar. A danger for critical editors is that ‘plausible readings’ will be accepted as authorial. The danger for this approach is rather that the readings we interpret as scribal alterations might be inherited from an author or (more frequently) performer. The following chapters are therefore largely concerned with identifying instances in *V* that must reflect scribal activity. Essentially, we are looking for creative corrections to mechanical faults.

One of the principal challenges to pin-pointing scribal behaviour and trying to relate it to performance and transmission is the process of ‘re-transcription’, so salient in the melodic trajectories shared in *V* and *R*. The phrase is employed here to describe a process similar to that described by Nicolas Bell in the Las Huelgas manuscript using the terms ‘translation’ and ‘transference’.<sup>412</sup> To describe the scribal working in this manuscript Bell employed a paradigm that Nida and Taber had proposed for textual translation, which posits several processes necessary when moving from one language to another.<sup>413</sup> Transfer, in which the translator (read notator) tailors the translation to the target audience; analysis, in which the translator can identify differences between the two languages which prevent literal translation; and restructuring in which the translator must essentially reconstruct what is translated in the new language so as to produce an equivalent effect. Thus identity is replaced by equivalence. Bell transposes this paradigm onto musical notation, demonstrating how the Las Huelgas scribe at times clarifies or simplifies the notation of his exemplars, at others adopts a different notational system to convey the same information in a more familiar way.

*V*’s and *R*’s transpositions, and to a lesser degree all of the variants in *V* after the first two gatherings, resemble what Bell describes. I therefore propose the term ‘re-transcription’ to indicate the premise, that the scribe might well have altered basic elements of the notation without intending changes to the musical content, changing the musical *verba* without intending to affect the *res*. Although these processes are

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<sup>412</sup> Bell, *Las Huelgas*, pp. 75–80. See also Margaret Bent, ‘Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony’, in Iain Fenlon, ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) pp. 295–317.

<sup>413</sup> Eugene Nida and Charles Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation: with Special Reference to Bible Translating* (Leiden, 1969); cited in Bell, *Las Huelgas*, p. 79.

closely related to Grier's 'graphical alterations' and 'intentional alterations', I am referring to an entire piece, not an isolated reading. The process of 're-transcription' might include the scribe's confusion brought about both by graphical alterations and re-imagining the details of the melody. It might furthermore include 'substantive' alterations: there is every reason to believe two medieval scribes might have perceived the same performance in very different ways, creating representations where we (not they) would impute very different 'meanings' to the notes. The process would be further compounded if the notator had (in van der Werf's formulation), 'sung to himself a section from the manuscript in front of him—not necessarily the melody of exactly one entire line—and then copied from memory what he had *heard* rather than what he had *seen*'.<sup>414</sup> That the same notators regularly chose between this technique and a more graphical approach is what makes them more than 'jongleur[s] notating [their] own performances'.<sup>415</sup>

This Chapter's findings are more concrete where *V*'s musical codicology is concerned: musical comparison has allowed us to divide the manuscript into sections, some of them related to lost codices. Based on the evidence described above, we can safely posit that *V* was copied from written and notated exemplars, and that those exemplars had fundamentally differing characters from that of *V*. The evidence is also clear that both of *V*'s notators had direct access to versions of songs notated as they were in the *KNPX* group: the instances of shared clef changes and ligature choice in songs such as 32 and 136 is too clear to allow for doubt. In the case of fols. 1 to 18, the copying is exact with respect to the music, a discovery unusual enough in the trouvère repertoire to require a re-evaluation of *V* as a source, and Notator 1 as a

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<sup>414</sup> van der Werf, 'Notationless', pp. 65–6.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*

copyist. Having established that *V*'s notators worked from exemplars containing music, it now remains to consider what their relationship to those exemplars must have been. We have seen remarkable fidelity in the case of the opening songs; the wide range of levels of similarity and variance in the rest of the manuscript insist this is not the whole story. The following chapter relies on notational evidence to consider how the notators interacted with their exemplars to arrive at the versions as notated in *V*. The discussion to follow both strengthens and builds on the conclusion of this chapter: that *V* is modeled on pre-existing notated books, among which was at least one member of the *KNPX* group.

## Part III

### Notation in *V*: The Copyist as Agent

WHILE THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER considered the musical variants of *V* and the melodic possibilities afforded by multiple exemplars, Part III of this thesis returns to notation, this time viewed as a dynamic process and a tool for adaptation in the hands of the notators. Due to the nature of the evidence for the trouvère repertoire, melodic variation is inseparable from variation in the means of melodic representation. The issues pertaining to notation and representation, as well as the comparison of signs that will form the bulk of this chapter, amplify and draw on the issues and questions raised by melodic comparison in the last.

The starting points for these twin methods are respectively Elizabeth Aubrey's and John Haines's resounding assertions of the agency of music notators. Aubrey's major methodological contribution was the separation of musical style into layers, some attributable to the troubadours, some to the scribes.<sup>416</sup> The trend discussed in Chapter 3, of constructing profiles of the behaviour and preferences of individual scribes thus entered research on vernacular monophony. An observation made by Haines points to a potential danger in this line of inquiry. He describes a single song copied with mensural notation in the source *T*. The same song, when it appears in chansonnier *O*, has no semblance of mensural signs or differentiation between longs and breves.<sup>417</sup> There is nothing unexpected about this, insofar as the variance of vernacular song allows for differing realizations of pieces, as well as different

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<sup>416</sup> Aubrey, *Troubadours*, Chapter 2, 'Transmission', pp. 26–65 passim, especially from p. 49 and pp. 203–209 of Chapter 6, 'Style'. Note Aubrey's remarks on p. 65, 'the scribes were active agents, either consciously or unconsciously, in recording the melodies of the troubadours'.

<sup>417</sup> Haines, *Eight Centuries*, pp. 7–8.

representations of them. This example is startling for its reversal of the typical descriptions of the notators of *T* and *O*: the *O* notator is the one most commonly associated with mensural notation of single-voiced songs. In Haines's words, the two notators have 'switched notational camps'.<sup>418</sup>

Assigning individual notators to notational camps and ascribing sets of attributes to them is to risk oversimplification. Reading through the commentary in older musical editions with scribal agency in mind gives the impression that copyists were programmed automata who processed songs in a predictable way, leaving a layer of scribal interpretation that can now be peeled back to reveal the underlying musical material. Patterns in the work of a single scribe do exist and, as Aubrey has shown, they can be usefully described; however, scribes were not merely agents, but actors. Their patterns of behaviour could change in response to their surroundings, the material (and immaterial) objects with which they were working, and we must expect in some cases, to emotions such as curiosity, frustration, even creative energy. To adopt this position is to re-write van der Werf's formulaic disclaimer, when he uses term 'scribe' to denote all the performers and writers involved in the transmission of a song as it arrived on a given folio.<sup>419</sup> This elision is necessary because the distinction between singer and scribe is often invisible to us; it is also necessary because the scribe's decisions are often inseparable from their surroundings. A scribal description must take a particular interest in cases where it is possible to isolate the range of activities that can be attributed to scribes as actors. An analytical work, in contrast to

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<sup>418</sup> *Idem.*, p. 7.

<sup>419</sup> Deborah Hubbard Nelson and Hendrik van der Werf, eds., *The Songs Attributed to Andrieu Contredit d'Arras with a Translation into English and the Extant Melodies* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992), p. 26. An exception, where 'the scribe' really means a single scribe, is van der Werf, 'Musical Introduction', in Nelson and van der Werf, *Lyrics of Adam de la Halle*, at pp. xxvii–xxx, where van der Werf assumes fewer layers of performance and copying intervened between Adam's composition and the extant exemplars.



an editorial project, has the luxury of attempting to reconstruct the material and sonic environments surrounding the copying of an extant material object and thus hopes to describe a part of the habits and mentality of the copyist.

This part of the thesis is devoted in particular to describing the patterns of action and interaction of the two notators of *V* with the music they copied. I begin in Chapter 6 on the purely material side, with the manuscript page. As the frame within which the notators worked, staves (or the spaces allocated for them) determine the appearance of notation. They also determine the way notators choose to portray the music, through choice and placement of clef, type of ligature, perhaps even transposition level. They thus indirectly influence some of the mistakes the notators were more likely to make. The spatial decisions of the text scribe and the ruler of the parchment might inadvertantly determine the direction of a musical phrase. These changes (especially when they occur on the small scale and in close succession) can result in an inflated impression of the *variance* between two sources. They might also risk giving the impression of scribal incompetence, a view this thesis seeks to challenge.

In Chapter 7, I address instances where the notators' work is shaped by the notational choices already made by the exemplars from which they copied. Chapter 5 confirmed that Callahan's clustering of isolated and concordant melodies constituted a clear break between Gatherings 2 and 3.<sup>420</sup> My own codicological work revealing the evidence of written transmission at work in some of these melodies shows that this re-orientation of melodic family was most likely imposed on the notator by the available copies of the music. That a change in the details of notational practice accompanies

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<sup>420</sup> Callahan, 'Mélodies « marginales »', p. 76.

this break brings us still closer to understanding *V*'s notators' relationship to their exemplars.

The theoretical and methodological questions that arise in Chapter 7 are the richest, and they continue into Chapter 8, an attempt to separate out decisions made by the *V* notator in particular. I propose here that certain symbols must have had meaning for the notator because their appearances are determined, in part, by variation unique to this manuscript's text. The justification for this argument brings us to the final part of the thesis, Part IV, an examination of how *V* responds to the texts, as copied in the exemplar, and as copied below the staves, by *V*'s text scribes.

It could be argued that each of the scenarios in this overview argues that the material itself possessed agency equal to or surpassing that of the scribe in importance. This is the very perspective recently imported to manuscript studies from more general work on material culture. Stephen Nichols (who has graciously made many sections of his works-in-progress freely available online) has applied some of the complexities of Lambros Malafouris' 'Material Engagement Theory' and James Gibson's ecological turn (and indeed his neologism, 'affordance') to construct a material model of the medieval parchment page.<sup>421</sup> The material context can assume a

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<sup>421</sup> Stephen G. Nichols, *Ecological Philology: Mind, Environment, and the Medieval Manuscript Matrix* (Peter Lang, forthcoming), pp. 8–10 for citations of Gibson and pp. 6–7 and 10–11 for discussion of Malafouris. For a few additional passages not cited by Nichols, see James Gibson, *An Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986, first published 1979), p. 18, where the 'affordances...of the environmental medium' are first introduced, Chapter 87, 'The Theory of Affordances' pp. 119–34 at pp. 119–120 and 124–5 (cited by Nichols) but also pp. 127 and 134 where the term is discussed, and pp. 138–40 where Gibson outlines the origins of the term in dialectic with Kurt Koffka's gestalt psychology and its precursor in Kurt Lewin's term *Aufforderungscharakter*. For the agency of objects taken to its most extreme, see Lambros Malafouris, *How Things Shape the Mind: A Theory of Material Engagement* (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: The MIT Press, 2013), pp. 37–44. See also Bruno Latour, *Changer de société, refaire de la sociologie*, Nicolas Guillot trans., revised by the author (Paris: La Découverte, 2006) originally published as *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and (for the passages quoted by Malafouris), *idem*, 'Technology is Society Made Durable', in John Law, ed., *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 103–131 at pp. 104–5 and 110. Especially relevant to notational technologies of making ephemeral sense perception permanent is Latour's interpretation of the origins

kind of agency, sometimes literally forcing the scribe's hand, sometimes affording opportunities for invention.<sup>422</sup> However, in examining the actions, both free and constrained, of the *V* notators, I have chosen to focus on human agency. To do otherwise would imply a narrow reading and over-application of Material Engagement Theory, excluding instead of expanding nuanced conceptions of human mind and agency. The notator's work, coming as it does at a relatively late stage in the production of the manuscript, is shaped only indirectly by material problems. It is rather the solutions to those physical difficulties already taken by parchment-makers, rulers, and text scribes, that determine the scribe's range of motion. Put another way, the 'causal and affective efficacy of things' that enable the existence of a scribal mind and with which that mind is 'actively engaged' are themselves the product of human actors.<sup>423</sup> With the exception of dry nibs and uncooperative parchment, every determining factor with which the notators wrestled, and thus the environment affording them notational consciousness, arose from what a human had done, not what the material was doing.<sup>424</sup> While this anthropocentric method may be open to

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of the Kodak camera, schematically depicted in *ibid.* at pp. 111–13 discussed at pp. 113–17. The bibliography of critical philosophical responses to both these works is long, as is the list of disciplines affected by them; Nichols' work is chosen as representative due to his particular interest in French vernacular manuscript tradition. His influences are particularly broad, as witnessed by his reliance on evolutionary biology (specifically 'Niche Construction Theory'), both classical and modern analytic philosophy, and even theology.

<sup>422</sup> Nichols, 'Manuscript Matrix', p. 11; in Nichols' *From Parchment to Cyberspace*, Medieval Interventions: New Light on Traditional Thinking 2 (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2016), he acknowledges that his networks of political and literary thought encoded in medieval manuscripts and libraries (pp. 155–7) and their capacity for 'load change' (p. 66), i.e. adaptation of a stable text to changing tastes, rely specifically on the durability of parchment and in principle could (with the exception of palimpsests, see, pp. 22–3) rely just as easily on other media, prompting his defence of digital reproductions in chapter 2, 'Materiality and the Matrix: Anatomy of an Illusion', pp. 43–53.

<sup>423</sup> Malafouris, *Things*, pp. 43, 45, cited in *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>424</sup> Thus, by Malafouris' logic, the agency determining how the manuscript looked by the time the notators began their work would reside not in the material or the parchment nor the scribes, but in the engagement between the two. In a certain sense, the notator's engagement with this prior manuscript matrix creates a second order of engagement. Put another way, one could claim nested levels of consciousness within a manuscript: see Malafouris, *Mind*, at pp. 67, 74 and especially pp. 78–82 where he discusses the interaction of Mycenaean scribes with their materials and interlocutors, as well as the

accusations of mistaking the text scribe and preparers of the parchment for ‘prime movers’, it is a necessary step. When tracing human and non-human chains of agency in the process of describing ‘socio-technical networks’, Latour and Malafouris concur, we will encounter some segments of that chain that are purely human.<sup>425</sup>

A similar logic obtains for the second and third layers of constraint: the music as sung, and the music as previously notated in the exemplar, by another human agent. The notators, for all the freedom and originality we may be able to attribute to them, were still copyists in the sense that they worked from written exemplars. This conclusion relies on the evidence reviewed in the previous chapter, but is also reinforced by the arguments presented here. The scribe’s retention of some symbols in precise agreement with other witnesses of the same piece suggests holographic copying, within certain material constraints. There were technical constraints as well: some elements in the *V* notators’ copying are best explained through scribal misinterpretation: symbols were confused with unrelated but graphically similar signs.

This brings us to the central question of this part of the thesis which prompts the bulk of the accompanying tables in the appendix: did the *V* notators copy exactly, without understanding what they had in front of them? Or were they capable of code-switching, replacing one notational system with another either of their own accord, or in response to their exemplar? The catalogue of ligatures and symbols whose use by the *V* notators cluster in certain parts of the manuscript is just a starting point. If some signs appear only in the first two gatherings, it is likely because they are retained unthinkingly from *K*, *N*, *X* or a common ancestor. If others appear only after that, it

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‘distribution of labour’ (p. 78) and ‘new ecology of memory’ (p. 82) implicated in the extended mind comprising this interaction.

<sup>425</sup> Malafouris, *Things* p. 129; Latour, ‘Technology is Society’, at p. 110.

might be because *V*'s notator decided they were appropriate only for the differing style found in the divergent exemplars, or because they were already copied there. Decisions to change the musical text from what is found in other sources thus could originate with the *V* notator or from a prior notated source; in either case, they reflect scribal work and decision-making.

## Staves and Clefs

THIS CHAPTER ADDRESSES INSTANCES where the notators adapt the melody due to notational disagreements with their probable sources, concentrating on the deceptively simple process of choosing staff sizes and clef heights. It builds on Chapter 5's demonstration that *V*'s assembly relied on directed copying from notated sources by showing that certain musical variants, localized to *V*, can be isolated to the moment of copying. The most interesting variants will be the more significant changes that the scribe demonstrably undertook consciously, to be considered in later chapters. The examination of clefs and staves permits the isolation of mechanical and even physical error, attributable to the constraints of the notator's materials and how they had been layed out. Between the vicissitudes of the parchment landscape, and the shifts in pitch area caused by clef changes and their resulting musical infelicities, we can catch a glimpse of the notator's reactions and habits.

Just because a variant in *V* results neither from a unique performance nor a scribal aesthetic reworking does not mean the notator is incompetent. Notator 1 was the victim of circumstances and some melodic changes did come about through relatively minor differences in layout, such as copying from a four-line staff to a five-line staff. Pinpointing these differences reinforces the connections between manuscripts just described in the previous chapter at the same time as using them as a guide toward the most useful manuscripts to compare to *V*. By comparing melodies third-transposed between *V* and the *KNX* group, it is possible to recuperate distorted melodies as well as the scribal process.

The chapter begins by considering some of the editorial work completed on *V*'s melodies and the attitudes taken by influential scholars. Close musical connections between *V* and its musical relatives have been obscured by melodic changes some have incorrectly attributed to variance, in the sense of flexibility in performance, and thus attributed *V*'s eccentricity to its familial independence. The rest of the chapter is devoted to demonstrating that many of these changes result instead from errors in copying within a manuscript family. Section 2 considers the codicological conditions that facilitated *V*'s usage of additional staff-lines, and the implications the five-line staff had for Notator 1's copying. Section 3 then considers the notators' reactions to third transposition and outlines their attention to these mishaps, showing why in some cases it was ineffectual. Section 4 concludes by comparing the practice of clef changes in *KNPX* to those in *V*, arguing for a scribal attitude to clef changes characterized by inertia and faith in the exemplar for Notator 1, at least. The evidence also supports the supposition that the notators copied in sequence, diving straight into the work without stopping to get a sense of the melody or planning ahead very far. Speed must have been a desideratum and instances where the notators stopped to make corrections or adjusted the exemplar will therefore be all the more significant.

## 1. Third Transposition

Most editors, including van der Werf, acknowledge the existence of transposition errors, even in repertories they believed were primarily transmitted orally.<sup>426</sup> Yet these editors also refrain from correcting many of these transposition errors, in part

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<sup>426</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, *Melodien*, vol. 1, p. X.

because the direction of the error cannot be ascertained, in part because it might, in some cases, relate to a divergence in performance. Avner Bahat and Gérard Le Vot, in an extremely conservative edition that nonetheless contains significant theoretical and practical contributions to understanding error and variation, explain their cautious attitude to transposition as follows:

...les musicologues, soucieux de régularité, ont tendance, pour interpréter ces modifications, à invoquer des fautes d'inattention ou de clé de la part du copiste. Certes, ces erreurs s'observent. On peut néanmoins s'interroger sur le bien-fondé de ce type d'explication dans la plupart des cas présentés.<sup>427</sup>

Numerous editions thus dutifully present variants in third transposition from each other without even a comment suggesting a possible correction. It is true that when multiple sources agree on the third transposition, correction would be at the editor's risk. For example, in RS 1521 (*A enuiz sent mal qui ne l'a apris*), van der Werf retains two different transposition levels for verse 3, that in *K*, *N*, *X* and *Mt*, and that in *O*, *R*, *V* and *Z*.<sup>428</sup> The decision to present both transposition levels is surely a good one, as it provides the most possible information. However, the fact that van der Werf tacitly corrects *N*'s third transposition in verse 6 misleads any reader who neglects the apparatus criticus in the distant end matter.<sup>429</sup> The placement of *V* between *R* and *Z* in van der Werf's stack of staves, and the inclusion of *K* as a stand-in for *N* and *X*, begs the editorial question; van der Werf presents the evidence in a way that already assumes *V* is more distant from *K*, *N*, *P*, and *X* than they are from each other.

Within the group *ORVZ*, *V* stands out as more closely related to *K* and *M*, despite its positioning. In the transposed verse, *V* is the only one of the four to ascend back to *K* and *M*'s transposition level: for the last four notes of the verse, *V* is once

<sup>427</sup> Bahat and Le Vot, eds., *L'Œuvre lyrique*, p. 31.

<sup>428</sup> van der Werf, *Melodien*, vol. 2, p. 236.

<sup>429</sup> 'N 6,1–6,4: eine Terz höher als in K', *idem*, Vol. 2, p. 695, see p. 239 for the relevant verse of the edition.



again a verbatim copy of what appears in *K* and *M*. By contrast, *O*, *R*, and *Z* all remain in transposition for the duration of verse 4. Could *V*'s version be a transposition error within a transposition error? Or some form of contamination? Compared to *O* especially, *V*'s treatment of the verse's close, including the compound plica on the penultimate syllable, looks very much like a direct copy from *K*, *M* or a shared exemplar. The most reasonable explanation is that *V*'s error occurred independently of that in *O*, *R*, and *Z*. The notator might have begun by recopying verse 1 from what was already written (though he or she must have checked the exemplar to catch the divergence at verse 3.5 on *las*). The change of clef in *K*, *N*, and *X* (all three of which arrive at this point in the piece at the end of the third staff) might likewise have contributed to purely visual confusion.

This is only one of many third transpositions in *V*, as shown in the central column of Appendix B, Table 10.1; with 17 appearances in the first two gatherings they are more frequent and often more extensive than those found between *K*, *N*, and *X* for this section.<sup>430</sup> The comparison between clefs that comprises the rest of the table, and the following evidence for *V*'s peculiar relationship to clefs and to five-line staves, favours a scribal explanation for a larger number of transposition errors than Le Vot's or van der Werf's editions suggest. Bahat and Le Vot's hypothesis, potentially valid for the songs of Blondel, does not hold for the first two gatherings of *V*. None of these third transpositions in *V* is likely to be a performed variant.

Even van der Werf's relatively interventionist approach results in a biased treatment of *V*: working as he was in order of Raynaud-Spanke numbers, he arrives at a unique melody in *V* in the fourth song of the Thibaut section, which itself follows after an overwhelming tally of unique melodies in Volume 1. This presentation biases

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<sup>430</sup> They appear in songs 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34.

the reader (and perhaps biased van der Werf himself, if he completed his transcriptions in that order) toward seeing *V* as an outlier from the very first. Judging simply by the number of variants in particular songs, *V*'s staff should very often be placed directly above *K*'s if placement is to reflect similarities at all, rather than consistently far from it as van der Werf does. In lieu of an explicit statement by van der Werf, it is hard to tell what role third transpositions played in the decision to segregate *V*. The decision to present all of *V*'s transpositions in this section as if they were valid, sung variants clearly ignores the evidence for written transformations that typify this part of the manuscript, caused not by modal disagreements (where the melodies are notated in 'verschiedenen "Tonarten" oder Tonbereichen') but by the constraints of the material medium of parchment.<sup>431</sup> There is a qualitative difference between the relationships between *K* and *V* we see here, and those between *R* and *V* we saw in the previous chapter.

## 2. Staff-Lines

Musical change in the first two gatherings of *V* often begins with the frame into which the notes are inserted. Aspects of layout such as staff size and clef choice may explain the high incidence of transposition. Chansonnier *V*'s musical layout is unusual for its inconsistency: it resembles only a handful of other chansonniers (including *A*, *a*, and *L*) in using both four- and five-line staves. The opening two gatherings of *V* are consistent in providing 5 staff-lines, probably drawn by rastrum. Starting on fol. 17 (that is, with the third gathering), there is a change of approach and four-line staves start to appear; from this point, when there is a fifth staff line, it is clear that it is

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<sup>431</sup> van der Werf, *Melodien*, p. X.

added freehand, while the other four are drawn by rastrum. The alternation between four- and five-line staves even occurs within a single song, as in song 39, RS 510, *Une dolour s'est enosee* on fol. 18v column a, where the fifth line disappears after the first two staves. Notator 2, by contrast, adheres exclusively to four-line staves. In the third through sixth gatherings, when a choice of staff size is available, the notator's choice does not correlate with the range of the particular piece or of the particular line of the piece. For example, in song 37, *Dame merci une rienz vous demant*, fol. 17r, the notator has dutifully traced a superfluous fifth line for the staff, despite the fact that the music only spans the range of a third. The previous staff, with only four lines, would have provided more than enough room for the music. Similarly, in song 42, *Phelippe je vous demant que est* on fol. 19v, the first six staves all have four lines, but the final two are traced with five.<sup>432</sup> This expansion is unwarranted, given that some of the previous staves contained music stretching across the tessitura of a sixth, while the final two each extend across a mere fourth.

The sudden addition of a staff in song 42 supports the assumption that the staves were put in place before the music notator looked at the exemplar, perhaps even by a different scribe. Ruling staves was thus a preliminary step, separate from the process of notation. There are instances, too, of a stray staff line invading the text at the beginning or ending of a verse.<sup>433</sup> Conversely, the text scribe seems to have made the same mistake in some cases, beginning to copy precisely where the staff would later appear, as for example on fol. 47r column a staff II. It would be easier to explain the staff-ruler's mistakes if we assumed the staves were drawn in before the text, but the text-scribe's mistake makes sense only if the staves were drawn in later.

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<sup>432</sup> *V*: fol. 19v.

<sup>433</sup> For examples, see fol. 1v col. a staff I; fol. 43r col. a staves III and V; fol. 45v col. b staff II; and fol. 47v col. a staff IV

The distance between the intrusive red lines on fol. 19 and the rest of the staff is too narrow for the bottom line to have been drawn by rastrum, so we must imagine that the ruler was drawing in an expansion by hand. It seems inconceivable that the staff-ruling hand could have begun the line directly over the text, just as, in the previous example it is impossible to see how the text scribe could have begun writing text directly over a staff-line. A staff ruler with an editorial bent might have struck lines through certain words, but that fails to explain why the overlap of red ink and text occurs only on words closest to the margins.<sup>434</sup> There must have been inconsistency in the order of operations. Possibly, even within a single gathering, one text scribe might have alternated between copying text and ruling staves, sometimes beginning a folio by ruling staves, sometimes by continuing the text. That would explain why extra staff-lines do not correspond to a need in the music. Even if the notator had a hand in drawing some or all of the staves, he or she paid little attention at that stage to the music to be copied on them.

A review of basic codicological considerations explains the inconsistency between four- and five-line staves. As discussed in Chapter 2 the writing block is ruled with 34 lines in the first gathering (fols. 1–8). In the second gathering (fols. 9–16), this expanded to 35 ruled lines. Whoever drew the staves in was eager to include even more music on the page than this allowed: on fols. 9 recto and 14 recto, staves were ruled all the way to the edge of the bottom margin, requiring that the text be written in the margin and creating an unruled 36<sup>th</sup> line. The opposite solution appears on fol. 14 verso: the text is kept out of the bottom margin, but in column b, the top half of the first staff is drawn above the top margin.

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<sup>434</sup> The overlap on fol. 47v is the only example where the extra line begins in the central margin, implying ruling right-to-left and toward the edge of the page; the fact that the red mark also coincides with the beginning of the strophic Refrain makes this a uniquely viable candidate for highlighting rather than misruling.

A gradual expansion of the writing block by nearly a centimetre in each dimension (not counting the main text entered in the lower margin) accommodates the extra lines. This accommodation abruptly ends at the beginning of Gathering 3 (fol. 17r), when the writing block returns to its previous dimensions. The ruler seems to have undertaken a new initiative to retain a compact writing block and to allow generous margins. When the folios were cut, this gathering was positioned higher than the previous two, so that the change is now most noticeable when examining the lower margin. The copyists nonetheless persisted in ruling 35 lines.

Ironically, this renewed zeal for neatness resulted in minor messes: in staff IV of fol. 17 recto column b, the top staff-line appears to have been squeezed in, perhaps only as an after-thought, when the scribe decided there was in fact enough space. Staves III and VII-VIII, with only four staff-lines each, appear much neater, despite the inconsistency they cause. Thanks to the newly compact writing block and the addition of a 35<sup>th</sup> ruled line, the fifth staff-line in many cases has been forced off the writing block and into the margin. In all likelihood, whoever drew the staves was now using a four-line rastrum and adding a fifth line when possible. The second notator's section, by contrast, contains only four-line staves, none of them drawn with a rastrum.

In fact, it is likely the notators drew their own staves, each according to a personal system. The first notator preferred to add a fifth staff-line under any circumstances, without first confirming it would be of any use (as for example on fol. 45v staves V–VIII). The second notator capitalizes on more compact staves to allow for more space between the text and the notes. Due to his or her narrower nib, Notator 2 can also be confident in placing notes above the top staff-line or below the bottom staff-line, still a good distance from the top of the text. The first notator, by contrast,

seems to have sought to avoid analogous situations by preferring higher clefs; in cases where he or she does allow notes below the bottom staff-line, stems invariably intersect with letters. The vertical spaciousness of the second notator's section allows a slight expansion of the text-block; there are now consistently 36 ruled lines rather than the 35 usually found in Gatherings 2–5.

### 3. Correcting Third Transpositions

The use of five staff-lines had unintended consequences for the music that appeared on them. It is surprising that Notator 1 felt five staff-lines were necessary in the first place, as the songs he or she copied usually appear without them. Five-line staves are not unique among chansonniers, but it is rare among versions of Thibaut de Champagne's songs.<sup>435</sup> *KNPX* and *M* have only four-line staves for this sub-collection, a fact which might explain many of the transposition errors in *V*. The act of translation from a four-line staff to a five-line staff proved perilous. The danger resided in Notator 1's inconsistent practice in choosing clefs, selecting them in a way that contradicts the modern convention of numbering clefs by counting from the bottom. Notator 1 seems to follow his or her own convention, often counting from the top line. In Appendix B Table 2.1, the last three columns show the clefs chosen in *K* and in *V*, and the folio number of the song. Only four songs in *V* have a perfect match with at least one source in the *KNX* group (songs 3, 18, 24, and 26). *V* more commonly shifts the clef or clefs up by one line compared to those used in *KNX*. Thus, a C3 clef on a four-line staff becomes a C4 clef on a five-line staff (both are on

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<sup>435</sup> Chansonnier *B* = CH-BEb 231, *L* and *T* use five-line staves as a rule; *B* and *T* contain some songs with notation by Thibaut, though the bulk of his corpus is missing from these sources entirely, or copied with blank five-line staves.

the second staff-line from the top). There are 6 examples of *V* raising the clef in this way throughout a piece and 8 examples where *V* takes advantage of the extra staff-line for part of the piece and then reverts to *KNX*'s or *Mt*'s choices at a clef change.<sup>436</sup> Most common of all are the 15 instances where *V* begins with the same clef as the other manuscripts, even matches their clef changes, but then moves up the staff as the piece progresses.<sup>437</sup> The choice to translate the clef makes intuitive sense for clefs near the top of the staff (it is easier to count down one line than count up three), but it also makes practical sense: with the exception of up-plicas, all of the *V* notators' stems point down. Thus, it is better to provide more room below the clef than above the clef: using a C4 clef rather than a C3 clef ensures that for a G, the stem can take up the space of an entire note-head before reaching the bottom of the staff. The stem on an E will pass below the staff, but not necessarily intersect with the text below. Within the first two gatherings, a tally of notes placed above the staff compared to those placed below yields a moderate preference of 36 compared to only 22. For notes placed on the top line compared to those placed on the bottom line, this yields a starker ratio of 126 compared to 72. This is despite the fact that roughly the same number of songs reach a top f or higher as descend to or below bottom C. The fact that there are so many instances of notes below the bottom of the staff might indicate that Notator 1's practice (neglecting to change clefs where advisable) failed to live up to the principle (preferring additional space below the staff).

If the notator normally thought of staves in a top-bottom direction, presumably he or she treated notes the same way. When copying notes near the bottom of the staff, the notator frequently became confused. In song 12, (*A enuis sent mal* RS 1521)

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<sup>436</sup> For raising the clef: songs 4, 8, 23, 25, 32, and 34; for reverting to *K*'s clef: songs 1, 13, 14, 16, 20, 28, 35.

<sup>437</sup> Songs 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 31, 32, 33

*K*, *M* and *N* switch from a C2 to a C3 clef between the first and second staves. *V* on the other hand begins with a C2 clef as well, but switches to a C4 clef: for the first clef, the notator counted from the bottom, but for the second, counted from the top. The same mistake, applied on the level of notes, resulted in third-transpositions. Just as a C5 clef on a five-line staff most resembles at first glance a C4 clef on a four-line staff, a C on the five-line staff will closely resemble an E on the four-line staff (both are in the lowest space of the staff). In song 17, (*Douce dame tout autre pensement* RS714), *V* begins transposing by third in the second verse for precisely this reason.<sup>438</sup> According to habit, the scribe has converted *K*'s C3 clef to a C4 clef for the first staff, and *K*'s C4 clef to a C5 clef for the second. This causes no trouble until he or she encounters the lowest note of the piece so far, what should be an E. This is reproduced exactly as it appears in the other sources, in the lowest space of the staff. On *V*'s staff, however, this is a C, and the next four notes are thus transposed down a third. Only when reaching the next staff of *K* (*oubli*) does the notator correct the pitch-level: the third transposition would have required going below the bottom staff-line, an unusual scenario that might have prompted the notator to verify his or her copying. Perhaps this realisation of error explains why the following song, *Une chanson encor vueil fere* is copied with C4 clefs throughout, following *K*'s notation exactly and forcing *V* to inhabit the very bottom of the staff.<sup>439</sup> Yet even here, *V* still transposes down by third. We might imagine a source other than *K* that used a C3 clef here. Or was *V*'s notator overcompensating? Rather than merely change to a different system of clefs, the notator also transposed (in the wrong direction) the notes.

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<sup>438</sup> *K*: p. 15; *V*: fol. 8r.

<sup>439</sup> *K* p. 16; *V*: fol. 8v.



The third transpositions in the examples just given are easy to identify. In subsequent sections of *V* (when the melodies diverge too drastically from those of the other manuscripts), identification is next to impossible. Optimistically, the pattern of clef changes and third transpositions just described might allow predictions as to where transpositions likely occurred, especially if the musical language diverges from the norm, or where otherwise literal repetitions in the music are moved down by third. Given the lack of certainty in these cases, the possibility of correcting transpositions becomes less verifiable than the use of the clefs themselves. Where and why *V* changes clefs reflects scribal priorities and understanding of the music, as well as giving clues to how effective Notator 1 was at planning ahead. The fact that the typical point of clef change in *V* develops through the manuscript reflects either the scribe's reaction to what was being copied, or alternatively, the way different exemplars presented the material.

Translating staves cannot explain all third transpositions in *V*: the notator seems to have simply overlooked some clef-changes as in song 9 (*Je ne puis pas* RS 1800), and in other cases to have miscounted the staff lines.<sup>440</sup> Yet the fact that many of these transpositions can be traced to a specifically graphical phenomenon is not merely an excuse for the notator's failures. It offers cautionary evidence against over-applying Bahat and Le Vot's modal explanation for these alterations, which does not pertain in the case of *V*. If 'dans les traditions orales les chanteurs utilisent les tons d'intonation à des hauteurs différentes de façon très libre et indépendante', in written traditions the same results sprang from different causes.<sup>441</sup> Le Vot's analysis of transpositional variants is apt in numerous cases, perhaps even in some of the pieces

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<sup>440</sup> *K*: p. 8 col. a staff III; *N*: fol. 4v col. b staff VI; *V*: fol. 4v col. a staff II.

<sup>441</sup> Bahat and Le Vot, *Blondel*, p. 32.

by Blondel found in *V* (indeed we have just witnessed the impact of transposition levels on modality in *V* and *R* in Example 5.6 from the previous chapter). We can easily rule out modal reinterpretation in the case of *V*'s first two gatherings (part of the manuscript Bahat and Le Vot may not have considered in the course of preparing an edition specific to Blondel's songs). The graphical phenomenon of third transposition reveals, on the contrary, that the notator took mechanical short-cuts, without necessarily first running through the melody in mental performance.

The frequent examples of third transposition do not prove that *V*'s notators copied carelessly or that their variants were never performed. The Notators' reliance on exemplars to make decisions for them evidently changed over the course of the manuscript's copying, and we will soon see examples of musical decisions (rather than accidents caused by layout decisions) from both of them. It is also likely that Notator 1 consistently read through the text.<sup>442</sup> Perhaps the copyist's slavishness directly correlated to how much confidence he or she placed in the exemplar. Our identification of scribal error in the third transpositions of Gatherings 1–2 is therefore confident but circumscribed.

#### 4 . Choosing the Clef, Changing the Clef

*K* and *N* are highly effective in dividing musical phrases in such a way that changes of staff often coincide precisely with changes in register; thus, new clefs usually begin with a new staff. *V* much more commonly requires a change of clef in the middle of a staff. Rather than preempt the change, allowing the clef changes to begin at the

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<sup>442</sup> I proposed a catalogue of such alterations and subtle reinterpretations in 'Transposed Texts', which I argued demonstrated that the notators did take care to verify what they copied.

beginning of the staff, Notator 1 usually waits until precisely the moment when a new clef is absolutely necessary. For example, in song 84 (*De bonne amour* RS1102) in staff VII, the notator keeps a long string of high E's on the top line of the staff so as to avoid changing clef to C3.<sup>443</sup> With the luxury of a five-line staff, the notator could surely have provided him- or herself with more space. Instead, he or she waits until the final note of the staff, and F, to change down to a C3 clef (though no further). For the final staff of the opening, the notator chooses a C3 clef again, despite the resulting placement of the first G on the top line.

This indifference apparently stems mostly from a resistance to changing clefs, rather than a particular adherence to avoiding notes below the bottom staff-line. Even when the notator has access to a five-line staff, collisions between the text and the music are frequent. For example, the unnecessary adherence to a C4 clef in song 54 (*De [bonne] amour vient seance*, RS1102) results in several low C's being forced below the staff, even in a song that never once ventures above top c.<sup>444</sup> Was this insistence on the C4 clef due to copying from a source with four staff-lines, such as K?<sup>445</sup> It is certainly the case that confusion over translation between four- and five-line staves gave the same result, as did the instances when *V* itself lacked the requisite space for five-line staves. Song 46, (*Robert veez de Perron* RS1878; *V*'s version is a melodic unicum) provides an excellent example of four-line staves cramping the notator.<sup>446</sup> Even though an extra staff-line is added at the top of column b, the notator fails to take advantage of it, adhering to a C4 clef even when a C5 clef (or at least an F3 clef) would have been possible. By contrast, the scribe demonstrates the capacity

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<sup>443</sup> *V*: fol. 37r.

<sup>444</sup> *V*: fol. 25r.

<sup>445</sup> *K*: p. 49.

<sup>446</sup> *V*: fol. 21v.

for better planning in song 52 (*Tant ai amor servi* RS711=1067, fol. 24r).<sup>447</sup> The notator begins with an F3 clef and immediately changes to C4 in order to facilitate the octave span of the first phrase. Where sources such as K place the first note beneath the bottom staff-line, here Notator 1 successfully avoids that solution, for the price of an awkward clef change on the last note of the staff.<sup>448</sup>

Notator 1 fails to plan ahead later in the same piece, in staff VI of column b. There is every reason to change back to an F3 clef either at the beginning of the staff, or at least immediately before the syllable *doit*, where, as it is, the notation passes below the bottom staff-line and into the text. The retained C4 clef makes more sense for the variant melody attested in the other sources for this piece, notated a fifth higher. If the notator cared to insert an unnecessary clef change in the middle of the first staff rather than risk placing a note below the lowest staff-line, why place a note there on col. b staff VI when it could be easily avoided by notating the whole staff on an F3 clef? This inconsistency characterizes Notator 1 throughout: often, he or she only recognized the necessity of a clef-change when arriving directly on top of it. Song 104 (*Au besoing voit*, fol. 45r) shows the notator employing a completely ineffectual clef-change. On staff IV, the notator waited until after having copied a low E below the bottom staff line to change from a C3 to a C4 clef (there are no high notes earlier in the staff to prevent a change earlier). The notator places the new clef immediately next to the first E, and then repeats the note. There are no further pitches in this register, and thus the notator changed the clef to accommodate a single note. The first E is left as a redundancy, the remnant of an abandoned attempt to notate the following verse without a clef change. Rather than erase the doubled E, the notator

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<sup>447</sup> V: fol. 24r.

<sup>448</sup> K: p. 47.

left it and continued on, in the assumption that the awkwardly-placed note would be ignored.

Notator 2 is not immune to such apparently bizarre clef changes. In song 117 (*Hui matin* RS293), in the middle of column a staff IV, he or she changes to a C3 clef apparently pointlessly, pushing the notes down to the bottom of the staff.<sup>449</sup> The change would make more sense for the version in all other sources, where the high *g* of *reson* necessitates a C2 clef in *K*.<sup>450</sup> Yet the music in *V*'s version is so different as to make it almost inconceivable that the notator was consulting a source like *K*, unless different sources were consulted for clefs than for music. More likely, we are looking at a situation similar to that seen with Notator 1's third transpositions, but in reverse: when translating from five-line staves to four-line staves, the notator lost track of which direction to count in, from the top or from the bottom staff-line. For both notators, these clef changes complement the other evidence of Chapter 5 that the music of *V* was copied from notated sources. The treatment of clefs also indicates a degree of inertia on the part of both notators and suggests that their clef changes are typically reactive rather than proactive.

The notators' struggles with clefs and staff size may well betray a lack of experience. More interestingly, they shed light on the processes of translation from sound to staff and from staff to staff. These scribes clearly did not follow any careful protocol of assessing the tessitura of a given line of music and then choosing a clef. At the same time, circumstances could overcome Notator 1's adherence to his or her exemplars' clefs and resistance to changing his or her own. While *K* and *Mt* place notes at the edge of staves, and especially when those sources employ ledger lines, *V*

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<sup>449</sup> *V*: fol. 50r.

<sup>450</sup> *K*: p. 122.

often manages to keep the music deeper within the staff, by means of five-line staves or of clef changes. Mistakes do occur, as every change between four- and five-line staves requires a slight translation from one paradigm to another. The fact that *V* so often neglects to use five-line staves advantageously or to make the necessary accommodations to four-line staves, suggests the notator was sluggish in shifting gears between the two. The situation is more explicable if we imagine an exemplar, or several exemplars, which adhered more consistently to one or the other clef-size. Good layout and planning, if they ever existed, would be lost in translation.

Although they cannot now be identified, third transpositions must have existed in the unique melodies as well, perhaps just as frequently as those related to *KNPX*. In one instance, Notator 1 catches an error probably caused by misreading the clef, and erases an A to write a C right before a staff change on fol. 34r column a staff III. Perhaps the notator was copying from a lost source that had chosen a C3 clef for this line of music, or perhaps one that switches to an F-clef here. Although the final staff returns to five lines, the *V* notator retains the top-line clef, thus avoiding placing the D on the bottom staff line.

## 5. Conclusion

This chapter has drawn connections between the division of the manuscript page and the representation of pitch-space on the staff, between clef changes and variant musical readings in different sources, and between the treatment of staves and clefs in *V* and its closest neighbours. As Chapter 5 would predict, *V*'s choices of clef and changes of clef tend to mimic *KNX* in the first two gatherings. Within this general similarity between sources are pervasive differences caused by *V*'s variable staff

sizes. I have argued that these differences arise from translation of staves, clefs, and music between parchment folios rather than from independent acts of transcription from sound. The infrequent and often belated clef-changes after Gathering 2 betray Notator 1's reactive attitude toward clef changes, a resistance to looking ahead in the melody. In contrast, certain unnecessary clef changes may still betray exact copying from another source.

The acts of translation in Gatherings 1–2 in turn result in transposition. These accidental transpositions, far from demonstrating unique melodic reimaginings in *V*'s songs, confirm the source's close filiation with *KNX* and sometimes *Mt*. The shape of *V*'s pages thus poses a challenge to Bahat and Le Vot's stress on oral transmission and van der Werf's careful preservation of melodic lines at contrasting transposition levels. There are vanishingly few common errors due to transposition (and where they exist, we have every right to question whether they are errors at all); however, when *V* retains an identical melodic passage temporarily shifted up by a third from other sources, we can attribute it to the Notator's reinterpretation not of the music, but of its frame. The scholarly reaction to third transpositions and variation in clefs is only the first example of a number of cases where interpretations made in an editorial context have obscured a clear view of notators' actions. The evidence itself reveals musical and codicological craftsmen interacting often intelligently, sometimes recklessly, with written melodic material. What proved to be perilous for the *V* notators' accuracy was not intervention, but over-reliance on exemplars.

## A Neumatic Catalogue for *V* as the Dictionary of a Notational Language

WITHIN THE FRAMING GRID OF THE STAFF, the scribes were free to choose between the various note-shapes, ligatures, and pitch configurations comprising the vocabulary of square notation. Their choices were constrained in part by the sources used as exemplars, as seen in Chapter 6. The action of *V*'s scribes within these constraints is therefore all the more interesting. Compared to the variety of neumatic notations and their multiple ways of indicating the same pitches, the square notation used for trouvère monophony looks, at first glance, homogeneous and scribal choices seem predetermined. The square notation used in France takes up a single column of Bruno Stäblein's synoptic neume table, for example.<sup>451</sup> In fact, the scribes needed to make a number of interpretive decisions in the process of copying. They chose whether to reproduce certain types of sign from the exemplar, simplify them, or translate them. They resolved the *ductus* of their exemplars' scribes and determined whether small graphical alternations corresponded to real musical differences. And they blurred the distinction between notational and musical decisions by replacing certain signs with others that conveyed more specific information.

The differences between the *V* notators' choice of sign and that of other closely-related trouvère notators' can most easily be summed up in broad strokes by a neume table exclusively dealing with this corner of square notation. This collection of

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<sup>451</sup> Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der Einstimmigen Musik, Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* [vol. III of *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*], Werner Bachmann, ed., founded by Heinrich Besseler and Max Schneider (Leipzig: VEB, 1975), insert pp. 32–3.



note-forms and ligatures, divided by scribe and by parts of the manuscript, constitutes the notators' respective palettes. To some extent, my work develops Mary O'Neill's methods of categorising notational signs in this repertoire. Her characterisation of the different symbols used in each source serves to justify a segregation of the *trouvère* sources into phases. I invoke O'Neill's notion of a 'vocabulary of notational symbols' for two purposes that differ from hers.<sup>452</sup> First, the types of signs used in *V* and the patterns of their removal and addition reveal notational sections of the manuscript, complementing the musical sections of concordant and isolated melodies established by Callahan and rehearsed in Chapter 5. Several clear notational changes correspond precisely to the musical shift at fol. 17, suggesting certain patterns in ligature use were inherited from exemplars, or at least that changes in exemplar could elicit notational adaptation from the scribes. Second, a quadratic 'neume'-table facilitates the isolation of the *V* notators' choices from those imposed on them by exemplars. My pursuit of this second purpose reveals the limitations of O'Neill's method from a palaeographical perspective, and the dangers inherent in attempting to construct from it a historical narrative of notational development. Characterising a whole source risks eliding several notators' habits into a monolithic whole. Even a scribal profile masks considerable variation in approach within the same hand. Going beyond tabular information to consider nuances of scribal habit and problems of sign formation betrays the interpretive nature of the simple task of copying and of even the most basic palaeographic analysis. This will be the task of the second half of the chapter, supported by the notational catalogue established in the first.

The altered, replaced, and added signs in *V* can be divided into two broad types: alternating forms inherited from chant notation and found in most *trouvère*

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<sup>452</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, p. 33.

sources, in particular liquescent and repercussive neumes and the *oriscus*; and those being developed for the notation of mensural, polyphonic music concurrently with the notation of the chansonniers. Ligatures in the second group appear only in a few chansonniers. The use and distribution of signs belonging to the first category will be considered in this chapter and the reasons for the appearances of the more ‘up-to-date’ signs will be the subject of the next. As the division corresponds fairly closely to O’Neill’s chronologically inflected categories of notational signs, they deserve particular attention from the perspective of investigating what kind of sources the different sections of *V* copied from.<sup>453</sup> Comparing the differences within *V* echoes a similar comparison between the *KNPX* group and sources such as *R* and *O*. The investigations of this chapter and the next describe the complex attitudes of scribes toward exemplars and shows how those complexities must inform our conclusions about the relationship of one source to another.

## 1. O’Neill’s Notational Phases and the Categorization of Ligatures in Trouvère Sources

O’Neill’s book has been the most comprehensive consideration of note forms in trouvère chansonniers in the last few decades. In conducting her overview of all major notated sources of trouvère song, she attempted to defuse the analysis of trouvère notation and mensural ligatures by divorcing palaeography from rhythmic considerations.<sup>454</sup> Her book aims to catalogue ligatures and associate particular shapes with particular sources, without assigning *a priori* interpretations of rhythmic or other

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<sup>453</sup> O’Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 27–52.

<sup>454</sup> For her summary of rhythmic debates, see *ibid.*, pp. 27–30.

meaning. O'Neill's work is ambitious in considering all of the notated chansonniers, and successful inasmuch as it lists the ligature- and note-shapes that appear in each source and highlights 'the noticeable exclusion of others'.<sup>455</sup> This general evidence then permits her to categorize each manuscript based on the ligature types it contains.

In essence, O'Neill replaces the philological method of comparing variants in a quest for meaning, with the narrower scope of palaeographical description. Through this method, she establishes two groups of sources, termed Phase 1 and Phase 2, a 'categorization on the basis of the notation of the main chanson collections'.<sup>456</sup> She loosely relates the categories to chronology, though not to a degree that introduces any new or unexpected dating for individual chansonniers.<sup>457</sup> She begins from the premise that, on palaeographical and art historical grounds, *KNPX* and *MT* (their later additions apart) are already known to be older than *O*, *V*, *W*, or *A* and *a*.<sup>458</sup> O'Neill's divisions serve to confirm these findings. The fact that the phases correspond well to what we know in the case of *M* and *O*, where there is relatively secure dating, suggests that there is indeed some chronological validity to the division of ligatures. Yet the danger of circular reasoning prevents further progress along these lines: for example, the tentative dating of the later insertions in *M* already depends largely on

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<sup>455</sup> *Idem*, 'Chapter 2: The Manuscript Tradition: Sources and Notation', pp. 13–15.

<sup>456</sup> *Idem*, p. 29.

<sup>457</sup> *Idem*, p. 30.

<sup>458</sup> For the dating and sections of *M*, see Judith Peraino, 'New Music, Notions of Genre, and the "Manuscrit du Roi" circa 1300', Doctoral Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley (1995), and for *Mt* as well as *T*, see John Haines and Christopher Callahan, 'La partie ancienne du chansonnier de Thibaut de champagne', delivered by Christopher Callahan 22 May 2017 at the '1<sup>e</sup> Congrès international franco-italien: Qui dit tradition dit faute? La faute dans les corpus chantés du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance' in St-Guilhem-le-Désert, Musée de l'abbaye de Gellone, 21–24 May 2017; for *a* and *A*, Tyssens, *Chansonniers Français*; and finally, for *O* (as well as the decorations in *M*), Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Part I vol. 1, p. 61 and Part II vol. 1, p. 160 for *M*, pp. 28, 85, and entries for Aymon de Savoie, p. 98 and Blanche de Bourgogne, pp. 99–100; see also the catalogue entry for *O* in *ibid.*, Part II vol. 1, pp. 112–14.

musical palaeography, as many of the insertions were not accompanied by a separate text hand and postdate the decoration.<sup>459</sup>

By focusing on types of ligature rather than issues relating to the scribe's individual writing techniques, such as *ductus* or aspect, O'Neill manages to side-step the agency of individual scribes. She focuses on the lexicon of the notational languages rather than their speakers or their grammar. While the ultimate aim of her dichotomy is to derive a chronological account of the chansonniers, her categories tend to evaluate the reliability of the sources. Eccentricity is weeded out and assigned to Phase 2.<sup>460</sup> The Phase 1 group contains a number of manuscripts displaying 'consistency of notational style': they share the same limited repertoire of notational signs and show only limited individuality, in contrast to the 'abundant use of individual notational symbols found in Phase 2'.<sup>461</sup> The exception is chansonnier *X*, where I note a number of anomalies compared to its relatives *K*, *N*, and *P*; for example, frequent use of individual rhombs (in place of stemmed or unstemmed squares) and occasional employment of broadened note-heads, especially at the end of a piece. Including *X* in Phase 1 follows the well-established scholarly habit of considering *K*, *N*, *X*, and *P* together, but from a strictly palaeographical standpoint, there are intriguing differences between them.

The Phase 2 group contains a number of manuscripts whose scribes employ additional or unusual symbols, especially those associated with mensural notation. Several sources are assigned to this group due to their use of the *cum opposita proprietate* marking and the oblique sign, while one source, *L* (F-Pn fr. 765), is exiled

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<sup>459</sup> Peraino, *Manuscrit du Roi*, pp. 76–7.

<sup>460</sup> *Idem*, p. 30.

<sup>461</sup> *Idem*, pp. 31, 38.

from Phase 1 solely for its use of ordo markings in unusual places.<sup>462</sup> *Z* is the only source in Phase 2 to lack any symbols that could be linked to mensuration; O'Neill places it in this group due to its persistent use of the compound and double plica, and its inclusions even of single-note plicas in surprising places. This last trait, as we shall see, is something also found in *V*.

O'Neill's implicit assumption is that notational and musical unity in the sources ultimately gave way to a variety of different approaches. This guiding idea is never made explicit in the book, nor does O'Neill broach the subject of developments in the usage and meaning of notational signs. For her, 'the division of the sources...does not signify vastly different notational systems' in contrast to the older view of, for example, Jean Beck, who maintained divisions between pre-Franconian, 'semi-mensural', and Franconian notation in trouvère sources.<sup>463</sup> O'Neill's primary historicizing narrative is stylistic, not notational. The Phase 2 sources herald the arrival of a 'new syllabic style' that gradually spreads from low to high genres. O'Neill identifies this new style particularly in unique melodies found in *A*, *R*, *V*, and *a*, and in the songs of Moniot de Paris (also particularly well represented in those four sources).<sup>464</sup> O'Neill never addresses whether this new syllabic style required a new notational style as well, or whether the basic melodies of older songs could be adapted to the new style rather than replaced. While Moniot's songs do display a very marked style, the unique melodies are more ambiguous. *V*'s versions of RS 1111 and RS 1097, for example, contain so many descending ternaria as to comprise a melodic style unto themselves; they are certainly less syllabic than their equivalents in *K* or *M*.

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<sup>462</sup> *Idem*, p. 39.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135–59.

In the case of *V*, the notational traits on which O'Neill's bases her assessment are used inconsistently. This does not change the fact that these signs do appear in *V* and not in the 'Phase 1' sources; in fact, it is all the more interesting to notice that changes in practice between different sections of manuscripts align with the changes in practice found between chansonniers. These notational adaptations make it difficult to justify assigning *V* to a category as clearly defined as 'Phase 2'. In fact, of O'Neill's list of particular traits that characterize *V*, its unique melodies, preference for the new 'syllabic' style, its contents shared with *R* and melodic similarities to that source, only pairs of traits can be found in operation in a given song or series of songs.<sup>465</sup> At no point in the manuscript do all of these elements perfectly coincide. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the songs in *V* encompass shifting melodic sources and styles, preventing a clear assignment of the whole manuscript to a certain 'Phase'. This is already clear from the discussion of musical variants; examining the notation confirms the same findings. Several clear notational changes take place around the beginning of Gathering 3, which are altogether more drastic than the minor difference in preference between Notators 1 and 2, but do not appear to indicate a change of notator. To demonstrate this finding, it will be necessary to categorize notational symbols, along the same lines as O'Neill does for her two phases, adapting this paradigm from a perspective that puts the intelligence and creativity of scribes into focus.

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<sup>465</sup> Only songs 61 and 138 (RS 565 and 1073) have similar melodies in *V* and *R*, diverge from the other sources, and contain mensural ligatures. Even in these cases, the other sources are still fairly syllabic, and the mensural ligatures found in *V* and *R* never coincide. The oblique at the end of *Cil qui d'amour me conseille* (RS 565/567) in *R* is a plica in *V*, while the descending binaria in *V* become obliques in *R* and the ternaria in *R* become ordinary descending binaria in *V*. The only non-KN ligature in *V* in 138 is a stemless descending binaria, in stark contrast to *R*'s *c.o.p.* ligature at the same juncture. The versions of song 163 in *R* and *V* are similar, but whereas *R* uses an oblique ligature, *V* has no mensural ligatures.

The following triage relies solely on the evidence of the occurrence and frequency of ligature use within certain manuscripts, drawing on the sources that, in Chapter 5, I argued were most closely related to *V*; namely, *K*, *N*, *P*, *X* and *R*. The justification for singling out certain notational symbols for scrutiny is found within *V* itself, but understanding this shifting palette of symbols requires understanding the larger picture of trouvère notation and how common these symbols are among other sources. Thus, the following section will primarily be a comparison of *V*'s ligatures to those in *K*.<sup>466</sup> This avoids duplicating O'Neill's lists of symbols, as her discussion is more general, and hence gives little sense of the relative frequency of the different shapes; as mentioned above, I make certain additions to the catalogue of ligatures found in *X* and *P*. Furthermore, the following division of ligatures is specific to *V*, seen through the lens of its relationship to *K* and *N*; the guiding principle of using one notator's notation as a point of departure for another may be relevant as a method of using notation to describe relationships between other chansonniers.

## 2. Towards an Updated Catalogue of Ligatures in *KNPX*

### 2.1 Shared Signs

Like *M* and *T*, as well as *K*, *P*, *N*, and *X*, the notators of *V* make the most use of a small number of typical ligature forms. In the bulk of the songs, only one allograph appears for each of the following configurations of notes: descending and ascending binaria, ascending ternaria, ternaria that ascend, then descend, and ternaria that descend and then ascend (see Neume Table A, Column 6, Rows 4–8). Both binaria

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<sup>466</sup> See Schwan *Liederhandschriften*, p. 171.

are common (descending binaria appear in nearly every song), while of the three-note forms just listed, the ascending is the most common.<sup>467</sup> The treatment of these compound ligatures varies more frequently between sources, since there are multiple ways of combining smaller ligatures to achieve almost any longer configuration of notes. The only ligature type that has two frequently-used allographs in all of these sources is the descending ternaria (Columns 3 and 6, Row 9). In one form the individual notes are not ligated in the strict sense: the shape begins with a square note with the stem on the right; the notator then turns the pen to a 45° angle with the staff and draws two distinct rhombs, proceeding down in stepwise motion (the first sign in Row 9). The relatively loose treatment of individual note-shapes in *K* and *N* results in some inconsistency as to whether the first note is written at a slant or not; often it is ambiguous whether all three notes are in fact rhombs. The first note does always have a discernible stem, however short and insignificant it sometimes is. The *X* notator is careful to draw a perfectly square and clearly stemmed first note each time the note-group is written. The *P* notator is the only one of the manuscript family to make clear use of a form comprised only of rhombs with no stem, in contrast to the standard form.

The alternative (less common) form of descending ternaria is composed exclusively of squares; it is essentially the logical extension of the descending binaria form (the second sign in Row 9). These two allographs are the only descending ternaria in *K* and *N*, though even in these sources, some variation in the shape of the first note may be seen in Column 3 of the Table. There are also isolated exceptions on pages 403 and 409 of *K*. In each case, one of the ternaria has a slanted stem on the

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<sup>467</sup> *K* and *N* share codified ways of writing longer ligatures as well, and *X* has its own equivalents: for example, *K* and *N* have a codified way of combining the descending then ascending ternaria with the ascending binaria, while *X* replaces the oblique stroke that begins this ligature with two distinct square forms.



Neume Table A

Row	Neume Type	<i>KN</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>V</i> (fols. 1–16)	<i>V</i> (fols. 17–48)	<i>V</i> Notator 2
1	Single Notes						
2	Plicas (Descending)						
3	Plicas (Ascending)						
4	Descending Binariae						
5	Ascending Binariae						
6	Ascending Ternariae						
7	Turning Ternariae (Up-Down)						
8	Turning Ternariae (Down-Up)						
9	Descending Ternariae						

Table of Note and Ligature Shapes Appearing in *V* Compared to the *KNPX* Group

Neume Table B (Doubled-Note Ligatures)

Neume Type	KV	P	X	V (fols. 1–16)	V (fols. 17–48)	V Notator 2
Doubled Note						
Compound- and Double-Plicas (Descending)						
Compound Plicas (Ascending)						
Descending Binariae						
Ascending Binariae						
Ascending Ternariae						
Turning Ternariae (Up-Down)						
Turning Ternariae (Down-Up)						
Descending Ternariae						

left-hand side along with a rhomboid note-head. An alternative, composed exclusively of rhombs and sporting no stem, appears in *P* from the very first song, in alteration with the other two forms (Column 4, Row 9). Here, unlike in *K* and *N*, this form is carefully differentiated from the form that begins with a square note by maintaining a consistent angle in drawing the rhombs and keeping the square-note version parallel to the margins. The use of this all-rhomb form in *V* will be discussed below.

*K*, *N*, *P* and *X* also frequently employ a variety of single-note plica forms and plicated ligatures, including two variants of the down plica (one with two stems, one with a slanted note-head), and two variants of the up-plica (one with two stems of equal length, one with a longer stem on the right; *KNP* and both notators of *V* will sometimes extend the right-hand stem below as well as above the square) (Columns 3–4, 5, Rows 1–3). All of the common ligatures also exist with plicated versions. In the case of the ascending binaria, *K* and *N* have one form with a stem extending below the lower square and another (rare) in which the shape is reconfigured to resemble a backwards descending binaria, thus allowing space for plication on the second note-head (Columns 3–5, Row 5). This form sometimes has a slant on the second note-head, sometimes a very small stem, sometimes a stem that ascends above the note-head as well as descending below it (a form entirely lacking in *V*). Descending binariae and ternariae also appear with stems to the right of the final note (pointing up or down), allographs that might have had meanings other than plication, or perhaps filled no semantic purpose at all.<sup>468</sup> In one instance, a descending binaria begins with a note that looks like a plica (*K* p. 261 col. a staff *V*), raising the question of whether the notator conceived of the rhombs in this form as comprising a note-group distinct

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<sup>468</sup> Upward-pointing stems, much less ambiguous than downward plication, are extremely rare. See *V* fol. 80v col a staff VI.

from the square-note. All of these plica forms pose the palaeographical challenge that stems descending below the note-head on the right-hand side could simply be symptoms of a ductus that involved a final defining stroke to neaten the edge of the note.<sup>469</sup> It is thus possible such strokes have more to do with care for appearance than with nuances of pitch, rhythm, or vocal production.<sup>470</sup>

## 2.2 The Updated Catalogue: Signs in *KNPX* but not *V*

Nearly all of the shapes just described as characterising *KNPX* also appear frequently throughout *V* and in most other chansonniers. There are two exceptions already noted: the ligatures of more than three notes synthesized from smaller shapes, and the ascending binaria with an ascending stem on the right. There is also a trait that pervades *KNPX* but is only locally common in *V*, namely the repetition of notes within ligatures (what O'Neill calls 'compound' forms). Double-note variants for most of the ligature types described above appear throughout *K*, *N*, *X*, *P* and the first two gatherings of *V*. The most common is the double-note plica, what O'Neill refers to as the 'compound plica', distinct from the double plica in that the first note is *not* given a second stem (Neume Table B, Columns 3–6, Row 2).<sup>471</sup> Nearly as common is its equivalent, a descending binariae with the first note doubled (Columns 3–6, Row 4). The equivalent variant exists too for ascending binariae (here there does not seem to be a plicated alternative) and even descending ternariae (Columns 3–6, Rows 5, 9). The reverse of these forms may also be found: ascending binariae with the second

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<sup>469</sup> Several examples may be found on fol. 26v col. a.

<sup>470</sup> Examples of such strokes in liturgical books and a discussion of their function in delimiting the edges of puncta appear in Eleanor Giraud's doctoral thesis, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris', University of Cambridge (2014), p. 218.

<sup>471</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 32–3.

note repeated and descending ternariae combined with a concluding single note or plica. While other forms such as doubled or tripled notes on a single syllable (with or without stems) appear in *Mt* and in *X*, they are apparently absent from *KN* and *P*, except possibly for certain cases where the text underlay is ambiguous (see Row 1). Their usefulness as evidence of notators' adaptation to different notational systems will be the subject of section 4 of this chapter.

*KNPX* also includes several forms found rarely in *V*: most common in *KNPX* is a version of up-plica that has a single long stem on the right, extending both up and down from the note-head (see Neume Table A, Columns 3–5, Row 3). This shape appears only a handful of times in *V*, compared to almost one hundred occurrences in *K* (the third shape in Column 6 Row 3 represents one of only seven examples in *V*).<sup>472</sup> Another relatively common form in *K*, *N*, *P*, and *X* but appearing only once in *V*, is an alternative version of the turning ternaria form, which could also be interpreted as a plicated two-note ligature.<sup>473</sup> This consists of an oblique stroke with a downward stem on the left and an upward stem on the right (Columns 3–5, 8, Row 8). While *K*'s notator was clearly content to use the standard form for this same configuration of pitches, he or she abstains from adding an up-plica to the descending binaria shape. In order to indicate plication, alteration of the shape itself was necessary here as for the ascending binaria. *N*'s notator employs a descending binaria with upward plication only once (fol. 166v col. a staff IV) where, in the same song, *K* and *X* supply plicated obliques.<sup>474</sup> Conversely, where *N* has a plicated oblique in RS 100 *Lasse por qui*

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<sup>472</sup> On the other hand, it appears dozens of times in *K*: pp. 24, 29, 46 (3), 52, 69, 80 (8x), 81 (2x), 85, 99 (2x), 100, 103, 117, 119, 120, 124, 141 (2x), 144 (3x), 146 (2x), 147 (4x), 149 (13x), 150 (2x), 151, 157 (4x), 160, 169 (2x), 171 (2x), 172, 173, 175 (3x), 190, 203, 208, 213 (7x), 217 (2x).

<sup>473</sup> The appearance in *V* is in song 150 (RS 1864) *De jolie entencion*, verse 6 (fol. 63r col. b staff V).

<sup>474</sup> *K*: p. 343 col. b staff VIII, *X*: fol. 224v col. a staff III.

*refasai*, *K* and *X* simply have ternariae.<sup>475</sup> In song 99, RS 939, *K*, *N* and *X* have the plicated oblique in verses 1 and 3, while *M* and *T* have ternariae and *V* has descending instead of turning ligatures. Thus, while the shape resembles an oblique binaria, a mensural figure, in fact it substitutes for an ordinary ternaria, as an upwardly plicated descending binaria.<sup>476</sup>

These shapes are not the only instances where oblique strokes are found in *KNPX*. Many compound ligatures employ oblique strokes as short-hand substitutes for the standard descending binaria. This occurs only a handful of times in *V*, possibly because *V* has less use for compound ligatures in general, rarely employing quaternariae or quinariae and never using ligatures longer than this. The oblique appears in various other guises in *V*, used in fundamentally different ways than in *KNPX*, a distinctive habit to be considered in more detail in the following chapter (Columns 7–8, Rows 4, 7).<sup>477</sup>

There is one orthographical trait shared in *KNPX* and *V* that is applied to different ligatures in each source: the placement of stems in the middle of ligatures. In *K*, the additional stem frequently appears on ascending ternariae (as indicated in the form in Row 6), twice on descending binariae, and once in an alternate form of ascending binariae.<sup>478</sup> Notator 1 of *V* applies it to the descending binaria on three

<sup>475</sup> *N*: fol. 166r col. b staff III, *K* p. 343 col. b staff III, and *X* fol. 224r col. b staves I, III respectively.

<sup>476</sup> O'Neill's catalogue of ligatures seems to imply that *K*, *N*, and *P* use the oblique stroke with left-hand *tractus descendens* as a stand-alone ligature, O'Neill, *Love Songs*, p. 33. I have found no such instance in either *K* or *N*, though some down-plicas vaguely resemble oblique binariae. The oblique binaria *without* plication in *P* are confined to the later portion of the manuscript (starting at fol. 211r); these entries are no longer in the same hand and probably a fragment detached from *W*. On the other hand, plicated oblique binariae may also be found in *X*. The main music scribes of all four sources use the oblique binaria if and only if the ligature requires upward plication.

<sup>477</sup> See songs 39, 41, 58, 60, 94, 97, 114, 125, 136, 150, 220, 229, 231, 277, 278, 279, 280, 289.

<sup>478</sup> In *K*, pp. 16 col. b staff VI, p. 37 col. a staff II, p. 103 col. b staff IX, Column 1, Rows 4–7.

separate occasions but only once to a ternaria.<sup>479</sup> Finally, a surprising shape occurs merely twice in *K* near the very end of the manuscript: this is a variant of the descending ternaria sometimes called ‘Lambertian’ or ‘English’, consisting of three rhombs, the first of which sports a slanted stem (see Row 9).<sup>480</sup> The songs where *K*, *N*, and *X* have this figure do not appear in *V* or, in the instances where they do, *V* lacks the configuration of pitches that would allow a ternaria of that type. The figure also appears copied by both notators of *V* in isolated instances (fols. 37v, 77v, 92v), along with possibly related forms that do not occur in *K*, such as a ternaria composed of rhombs in which the first two pitches are both given tails, or one in which the final note has a tail (see Row 9). Another use of rhombs is almost completely exclusive to *X*. That source frequently makes use of a single rhombs entirely outside the context of ligatures (Column 5, Row 1). This is one of only a few notational aspects that set *X* apart from *K* and *N* and, for the most part, from *V* as well. Notator 2 does use single rhombs, as we will see below, but not nearly as commonly as *X* does and generally only in cases that could easily be explained through the disintegration of ligatures.

This descriptive catalogue of ligatures in *K* and *N* takes us far from *V*, but it serves as an important corrective to the too-appealing assumption that there is such a thing as a collection of ‘standard’ ligatures in trouvère notation, any more than there could be standard ligatures used in chant notation, given the rich variety found in 13<sup>th</sup>-century notated sources, even within a circumscribed region of the North of France. In *K* and *N*, and to a much larger degree in related sources such as *X* and even the early layer of *M*, modified versions of common ligatures appear in isolated instances. It is

<sup>479</sup> The binariae are on fols. 1v col. a staff III, 4v col. a staff II, 15v col. a staff I, 40v col. a staff II. The ternaria on fol. 34v col. b staff II.

<sup>480</sup> In *K* pp. 403 col. a staff I, and 409 col. b staff II. Both songs (RS 773 and 1932) are unica. In *P*, fols. 16v col. b staff I and 17v col. a staff II; both songs (RS 437 and 633) have a number of concordances, but none agree with *P*’s choice of ligature. The same is true of *X*’s only usage on fol. 213r col. b staff II in RS 1718.

beyond the scope of this thesis to ask what they meant for the notators of *K* and *N*, or whether they were graphically traced from an exemplar without reflection by the copyists. The task in hand is to attempt this interpretation only for *V*'s ligatures.

### 2.3 Signs in *V* but not in *KNPX*

Both notators of *V* also employ ligatures and signs that are never found in the *KNPX* group. These forms are less common than those just described, and there are numerous songs that make do without any of them. Most are normally associated with mensural notation and interpreted by O'Neill as Phase 2 traits. They are outlined here in order to complete the catalogue of ligatures, but their role in *V* can only be considered below, after an analysis of the *plica* and of doubled-note ligatures. Conversely, it is rare to find more than two or three songs in sequence that employ only the signs in *K* and *N*. The most distinctive of the non-KN symbols are ligatures with a *tractus ascendens* on the left, often designated by the term *cum opposita proprietate* (henceforth, *c.o.p.*) (see Columns 7–8, Rows 4–9).<sup>481</sup> This symbol simply consists of an upward stem on the left side of a ligature and is applied variously to *binariae* and all *ternariae* except those consisting of descending rhombs. It is, in palaeographic terms, the most unambiguous sign used to denote mensural rhythm in late-13th century sources.

As well as adding unusual stems, *V*'s notators also omit stems entirely. These omissions can be difficult to identify with certainty: very faintly drawn stems are easily overlooked. On the other hand, where several instances of this ligature type appear together, especially where stems are otherwise clearly drawn, they probably

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<sup>481</sup> *V*: fol. 24r, fol. 27v.



result from notational decisions. *V*'s notators employ stemless variants of binariae and of descending ternariae (only Notator 2 uses the ternariae). Oblique strokes appear in *V* in situations never found in *KNP* or *X*, where they are limited to the specific plicated binaria described above and a handful of larger ligatures. The most common use of oblique ligatures in *V* that falls outside of the shared *KNPX* practice is the unplicated version of the oblique descending binaria. This consists of a downward stem on the left-hand side followed by downward right-slanting stroke (see Columns 3–4, row 4). Notator 2 twice employs a modification of the up-down ternaria to replace the last two notes with a single oblique stroke (see Columns 4–5, row 7).<sup>482</sup>

Finally, the *V* notators employ a richer variety of descending ternaria types than the *K* and *N* notators. In addition to the ternaria forms mentioned above, both *V* notators frequently use a version comprised only of rhombs, usually without any stems (Columns 7–8, Row 9). Notator 2 even uses rhombs as an alternative for descending binariae and both notators use them for turning ligatures (Column 8, Row 4 and Columns 7–8 Rows 7–8).<sup>483</sup> The occasional appearance of rhombs in the place of single notes recalls the very frequent practice in *X* and would provoke an interpretation of these notes as *semi-breves* if there were a possible rhythmic context to allow it.<sup>484</sup> Yet unlike the examples in *X*, most of these stand-alone rhombs in *V* could be interpreted as components of ligatures accidentally disassembled by accidents of text-underlay.

The use of rhombs in ternariae is likewise reminiscent of rhythmic signs, particularly *currentes*. The all-rhomb ternaria may be found occasionally in *K* and *N*

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<sup>482</sup> On fols. 53v col. a staff I, 89r col. a staff VI.

<sup>483</sup> See fols. 69r col. a staff I, 70r col. a staff IV and fols. 29v, 30r col. a staff III, fol. 31r col. b staff II, and fol. 98r for turns.

<sup>484</sup> In *V*: fols. 71r col. a staff I, 71v col. b staff II, 98r col. b staff IV.

(probably as a speedier alternative to the careful re-angling of the pen required in the standard form) and frequently in *P*, though never in *X*. The lack of care to differentiate square notes from rhombs by the *K* and *N* scribes is probably evidence that the distinction bore no semantic weight for them. The absence of ternaria beginning with an angled stemmed note followed by rhombs at a slightly different angle shows that *P*'s notator was more careful and probably used the distinction intentionally. The all-rhomb form is therefore a non-*X* ligature, but not a non-KN ligature.

Rarer variants of descending ternaria appear in *V* as well, including two rhombs following by an unstemmed square and variants of the three rhombs including one or more stems; some resemble the so-called Lambertian ternaria described above (Columns 7–8, Row 9 present all of these forms).<sup>485</sup> These variants may be found most commonly in sources such as *A*, *a*, and *R*. O'Neill tends to associate them all (including the all rhomb ternaria) with Phase 2 sources, which does however raise the issue of their appearance in the *KNPX* group. I thus prefer to refer to all of the signs just mentioned in this section (2.3) as 'non-KN' ligatures and focus primarily on those that do not appear in any of the *KNPX* sources. The all-rhomb form, because of its absence from the first gathering of *V*, its ubiquity thereafter, and its total exclusion from *X* deserves special consideration despite its status as a 'shared' ligature.

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<sup>485</sup> For the stemless note-group: fol. 26r col. b staff IV, fol. 29v col. a staff II, fol. 40v col. a verse III, and fol. 52r col. a staff IV. For examples of the stemmed rhombs: 26r col. b staff I, and for 'Lambertian' note-groups: fol. 37v col. b staff VIII, 92v col. a staff I.

### 3      Dynamic Palaeography and Sign Variation between *V* and *KNPX*

The foregoing neume table, though only a preliminary step, functions well as a background against which to consider *V*'s notational habits. Conspicuous absences of certain signs can be revealing, as O'Neill asserts; patterns in the ways in which equivalent musical passages are changed graphically between sources offers greater detail. Even some of the notational symbols that appear frequently both in *V* and the comparison sources *K*, *N*, *P*, and *X* may have been understood differently by different notators. The *V* notators are much more likely to replace or remove some signs when they appear in *K*, *N* or *X* (notably doubled-note ligatures) and to add others (notably plicas). These omitted and inserted signs are of particular use in establishing commonalities between manuscripts, as they probably relate to the notator's own semiotic system of notation.

Given the challenges to establishing a musical stemma in a repertoire where stylistic criticism stands on such shaky ground, particular weight falls on variants in *V* that come from the scribe rather than from a long-lost archetype via a number of missing intermediate sources. Notator 1's distinctive relationship to the plica brings the question's chronological aspect into focus: when we look at an isolated plica in a single source, are we seeing a notational decision taken by the notator of an elaborate exemplar, subsequently 'cleaned up' in the majority of sources? Or a minute aesthetic decision made by the notator of a single source? The evidence presented below supports the latter conclusion. This investigation has two goals: determining where the copyists intervened in otherwise literal copying, and establishing what a performer or critical editor's attitude to *V*'s variants ought to be. The free and frequent alternation of plicated and unplicated notes throughout the repertoire has discouraged some

editors from pointing out the distinction at all for some songs.<sup>486</sup> To neglect these variants is to ignore a significant aspect of Notator 1's work.

### 3.1 Adding Signs: Plication in *V*

Only comparison of individual songs can reliably reveal the notators' habits: a survey of the number of appearances of a given symbol in each source would potentially be distorted evidence. The different choice of repertoire between manuscripts, the different melodies, and musical variation in a number of songs all determine the symbol's distribution independently of notational choices. The most fruitful comparison is thus between *V* and *KNPX*'s versions of the first 35 songs of Thibaut de Champagne. In this portion of the repertoire, as we saw in Chapter 6, differences in the choice of ligature between *V* and *K* and *N* are relatively rare and alterations of plicas stand out among them. A plurality of the variants found between these sources for *V*'s first 35 songs involve plication, and thus the process by which the most closely concordant songs in Gatherings 1–2 came to be notated as they are in *V* can be examined through the lens of this particular notational technique.

I have limited my consideration as much as possible to palaeographically unambiguous cases. I have ignored plicated ligatures (most of them equivocally notated) except where upward plicas are concerned, or where the final note of the ligature is both slanted down and to the right and given a stem. Ligatures that end with ascending notes stacked one on top of each other are altered to make room for the top note to be slanted and for the stem to be articulated clearly, so that yet again

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<sup>486</sup> For example, in song 31 (RS 1410, *Mauves arbres ne puet florir*), Tischler omits a unique and perhaps unidiomatic variant in *V*, the repeated up-plicas on the Fs that conclude verse 1 and begin verse 2, *Trouvère Lyrics* vol. 9, No. 804-2.

the distinction between plication and mensural signs becomes blurred. I have assumed that alteration to the geometry of the ligature is insufficient to indicate plication and that only a slanted, stemmed final note can fulfill that function. Discussion of the meaning of ligatures with altered geometry but no evident plication must be deferred. These signs, plicated or not, appear infrequently in Notator 1's hand as in *Mt* and *KNPX* and thus make little difference to the numbers offered in the tables below.

In the 87 variants in ligature-type between *V* and *K* in the first 35 songs (not counting Number 27, the *Lai*, witnessed with music only in *V* and *Mt*), 49 (56%) involve plicas and 38 of those reflect *V* adding a plica to a single note in *K*. If the comparison is made with *X* instead of *K*, the difference is even more extreme, with 44 disagreements about plicas (40 of which are additions to *V*) in only 33 shared songs. *Mt* has even fewer plicas: of the 52 plicas found in the first 35 songs in *V*, *Mt* only retains five within the same repertoire of pieces. All in all, *Mt* has 13 plicas in those 35 songs. While it could be argued that replacing a binaria with a *simplex plica* amounts to nothing more than an orthographical variant, the addition of a plica to a single note carries more weight. The former involves copying one note-head instead of two, the latter requires the notator to add one, sometimes more vertical strokes.

After song 35, *V*'s use of the plica subsides. Their appearance follows a pattern that parallels that of the unique melodies in the source. As we saw in the first two gatherings, plicas are fairly common in *V*, (averaging around 1.5 per song in contrast to *K*'s average of 0.5 per song). In the unique melodies of the third gathering, only five plicas appear in 16 songs; in contrast to the 5 in song 12, no piece in this section has more than a single plica. This in turn contrasts just as starkly with the series of songs starting with *Tant ai amours servie*. Between that song and the next unique melody, there are 26 plicas in only ten songs, well over two per piece on

average and peaking at 8 in song 104. Many of these plicas have their equivalents in *K*, but the clear comparisons in the first two gatherings are impossible in songs 52–114, where numerous other variants obscure the relationship.

### 3.2 Assessing *V*'s Plicas

Two counter-arguments against attributing the plicas to Notator 1 require consideration. First, there is the question of directionality: if *V* copied from an early exemplar of Thibaut's music, the other sources might share subsequent modifications. This scenario can be discounted with reasonable certainty: *V*'s insertions can be understood as a regularisation of sorts. In the broader context of plication in trouvère chansonniers, the notation of Thibaut's songs is anomalous. When the tally includes Gace Brulé's songs, *V*'s plica use pales in comparison to that of other notators. In every other source that contain contiguous Thibaut de Champagne and Gace Brulé sections, the latter trouvère's pieces have a significantly higher average number of plicas per song. The most pronounced differences occur in manuscripts where plicas are most common. The average number of plicas per piece ranges from, at one extreme, only 1.02 in the combined repertoire of *B* and *L*, to 1.95 in *K* in the middle, to 4.8 in *O*. Yet all these sources agree in lumping most of the plicas in certain songs attributed to Gace. In fact, the lowest concentration of plicas appears in the *Mt* collection, where only Thibaut de Champagne's music is copied. Plicas are sparser here (0.34 per song) even than in *B* or in the isolated Thibaut sections of the other sources. Counting up plicas across the entirety of the notator's work does not show them to be significantly more common than in other sources, with only 125 plicas in 113 notated songs (an average slightly over one plica per piece and a maximum of 8

in a single song). *V* stands out only for reversing the trend of sparse plication in Thibaut's songs. Against the broader context of Gace Brulé's or Châtelain de Coucy's songs, Notator 1's additions to the Thibaut section are best understood as reversion to the mean.

A second objection is that these signs pose such palaeographic difficulties that unplicated notes could frequently have been read as a plica by a scribe or editor. The majority of *V*'s added plicas are 'augmentative' rather than 'diminutive', so that a plica simplex replaces a single note rather than a binaria (see Table 7.1 below and for example, Songs 14 and 21).<sup>487</sup> The form has several variants even when it appears only as a single note, as it usually does in *V*. Some of these variant forms can be deceptively similar to longs, while others are dangerously similar to oblique ligatures.<sup>488</sup> Ligatures that terminate with plicas are even more challenging.<sup>489</sup> They recall the considerable palaeographic difficulties discussed in reference to hairline strokes in Notator 1's copying. And how slanted must the note-head itself be for the plica to be identified? In either instance, we are in danger of eliding forms of the plica with forms from mensural systems.

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<sup>487</sup> To use Johannes B. Göschl's terminology from his *Gregorianische Liqueszenz der Epiphonus praepuncis*, *Forschung zur älteren Musikgeschichte* 3.1 (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gessellschaften, Österreichs, 1980), p. 65. See Dom André Mocquereau, *Le Répons-Graduel Justus ut palma reproduit en fac-similé d'après plus de deux cents antiphonaires manuscrits d'origines diverses du IX<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Paléographie musicale: les principaux manuscrits de chant Grégorien, Ambrosien, Mozarabe, Gallican, publiés en fac-similés phototypiques par les Bénédictines de Solesmes* 2 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1891), pp. 58–73 for the earliest identification of the 'liquescence adventice'.

<sup>488</sup> See *V* fol. 6v col. a staff III, col. b staff III, the last note of fol. 12v col. a staff I, and fol. 47r col. b staff I, all representatives of the third sign in column 2, row 2 in the neume table. For the same issue as it relates to plicated binariae, see fol. 26r col. b staff I, and fol. 41r col. b staff I and for ternariae, fol. 37v col. b staves I, IV. The ambiguity between plica and oblique is a challenge arising primarily from Notator 2's ductus: see fol. 69r col. a staves IV, VI for a problematic example of the fourth sign in column 3 row 4.

<sup>489</sup> O'Neill's suggestion that plicated ligatures are rare in *V* is conservative; she must have discounted many ligatures which are plausibly plicated, especially in Notator 2's copying; O'Neill, *Love Songs*, p. 44.

Not only is the scholar's competence put to the test, but so was the scribe's. In any such situation, we must distinguish whether we are trying to determine what the notators thought they were copying, or what they were copying from. There are certainly cases where it is possible to point confidently to a plicated ligature. In other cases, the notators themselves might well have hesitated when asked what exactly was in the exemplar they had copied. Describing such cases as scribal intervention would then be inaccurate. This concern has prompted my conservative tally of plicas in *V*, but it can also be countered by a consideration of the placement of *V*'s additions. Patterns in their use suggest forethought that, if not the result of conscious intervention, at least shows the notator checked against the text before reading a stray stem as plication. But before deciding whether Notator 1 understood the sign and added it in appropriate places, it would be necessary to know what the sign was used for in the notation of vernacular song. Even to hint that *V*'s Notator 1 did not understand the sign, we would need to understand its meaning better than the available evidence currently permits.

The only detailed work to date that focuses exclusively on the plica in 13th-century sources has been David Hiley's short contribution to the memorial volume for Gordon Athol Anderson in 1984.<sup>490</sup> Chant scholarship before Hiley identified a marked tendency for liquescence to fall on sonant consonants (defined as any consonant

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<sup>490</sup> David Hiley, 'Plica and Liquescence', in Irving Godt and Hans Tischler, eds., *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) in Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden, und Kollegen*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen IXL, 2 vols. (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 379–91. Other studies of the plica are specific to individual repertoires or to other centuries, e.g. Kathleen Nelson, 'Duration And the Plica: Plainchant in Spain During the Fifteenth Century and the First Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993), pp. 2306–15 or Marco Gozzi, 'Sulla necessità di una nuova edizione del laudario di Cortona', *Philomusica on-line* 9 (2010), pp. 114–74 at pp. 121–24. Nelson reaffirms the view that plicas had come to indicate doubled length, but also shows the liquescent meaning persisted as an available usage even in the late period she considers. Gozzi splits the plicas in the Cortona Laudario into those relating to liquescence and those indicating rhythmic information.



pronounced with the vocal chords still in motion) and diphthongs.<sup>491</sup> Hiley makes a case for the endurance of this liquescent function of plicas through the thirteenth century, drawing on tallies of plicas on different vowels and consonants taken from various repertoires, including motets, conductus, and even vernacular song. His research was only ever intended to be a preliminary foray and has yet to be followed up for vernacular song.<sup>492</sup> Hiley's sampling is limited to only one manuscript in each of these genres and only a representative cross-section of instances of the sign. Thus, for trouvère manuscript *M*, Hiley's table stops after the first 300 instances of plica. The limitations of the research coupled with the considerable inconsistencies found in any scribe's usage of the plica leaves Hiley with inconclusive results.

An additional difficulty for Hiley arises from *M*'s high proportion of sonant consonants and diphthongs without plicas.<sup>493</sup> While in the St Gallen chant source St-Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 339, only one in five instances of *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r* followed by another consonant lacked a plica, the majority do in trouvère sources (17 out of 17 in song 1, 17 out of 18 in song 2, etc.). In his later guide to Gregorian chant, Hiley would suggest that inclusion of *plicas* was at the discretion of the scribe even in chant sources. In the very first notated chantbooks (including St-Gall 339), 'the signs are

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<sup>491</sup> Mocquereau, *Répons-Graduel*, pp. 31, 79–80, Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style according to the Treatises*, with translations by Randall A. Rosenfeld, Oxford Monographs on Music 21 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 46–52.

<sup>492</sup> The recent, unpublished dissertation by Roberto Ribuoli, 'Neumi liquescenti nella tradizione manoscritta dei trovieri', tesi di laurea, Università degli studi di Roma, "la Sapienza" (2015) argues against the liquescent reading of plicas through a comparison of plicas in the songs of Colart li Boutelliers in *M* and *T*; while his tables are a useful expansion of Hiley's work on *M* and do support his 'hypothesis III' for this repertoire, it does not change the data that can be revealed from *K* and from *V*. See especially p. 49 for conclusions on *De fine amor vient science et beauté*, RS 407 compared between *M* and *T* only, and Tabellae A and B in the appendices.

<sup>493</sup> Hiley, 'Plica and Liquescent', p. 383.

there as reminders, though no two scribes would put them in exactly the same places'.<sup>494</sup>

Awareness of the variable employment of plicas has barely reached the scholars of vernacular music who discuss them. The position van der Werf took in his 1985 edition of Adam de la Halle's music, that the plica appears primarily over diphthongs, *m*'s and *n*'s, or *t*'s has yet to be systematically challenged in studies on trouvères, although Hiley's research suggests they are just as common over *l* and *s*.<sup>495</sup> To explain the appearance on the letter *t*, van der Werf draws on Mocquereau's theory of inserted support vowels (epenthesis within consonant clusters and between syllables), although without considering the distinction between 'liquescentes adventices' (Göschl's 'augmentative Liqueszenzen') and 'normales' ('diminutive Liqueszenzen').<sup>496</sup> In the same year (perhaps under the influence of a different collaborator) van der Werf described 'the liquescent neume, also called the nota plicata' as one of the most ambiguous musical signs in medieval music.<sup>497</sup>

Mary O'Neill's comparison of the melodic variants of Audefrois le Bastard's chansons are no more conclusive. She argues that, in *M* and *T* at least, the plica indicates stepwise motion and associates with 'certain consonants, but also diphthongs (or triphthongs), and, less frequently, with elision or contracted forms'.<sup>498</sup>

The scholar with the greatest claim to first-hand editorial experience comparing

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<sup>494</sup> *Idem*, *Western Plainchant* p. 357.

<sup>495</sup> Nelson and van der Werf, eds., *Lyrics of Adam de la Halle*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>496</sup> Göschl, *Gregorianische Liqueszenz*, pp. 34, 67, 79.

<sup>497</sup> Rosenberg, Samuel N., Samuel Danon, and Hendrik van der Werf eds., *The Lyrics and Melodies of Gace Brulé*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, music edited by Hendrik van der Werf, Volume 39 Series A (New York, NY and London: Garland, 1985), 'About the Melodies', pp. 331–4 at p. 344. Double plicas are even more ambiguous, to the point where few trouvère scholars have been willing to offer opinions in print. Gennrich, for example, seems to have considered the symbol a notational form used to represent the 'Synkope' though his presentation of this claim comes at second hand through his student: 'Herr Prof. Dr. Gennrich hatte die Freundlichkeit, mir seine Entdeckung mündlich mitzuteilen, wofür ihm auch an dieser stelle gedankt sei', Bittinger, *Textkritik*, p. 38.

<sup>498</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, pp. 35–6, 69.

trouvère sources, Hans Tischler, concerned himself in his Introduction merely with the question of rhythmic quantification of the second note, not with the liquescent associations of the sign or lack thereof; he considers it to be ‘a gliding tone connecting two pitches’ and assigned a rhythmic value based on modal context.<sup>499</sup> Even Aubrey’s more sceptical conclusion, ‘Notes with *plicas*...are no more likely to fall on diphthongs or palatalized sounds (such as *-nh-* or *-gl-*) than on other types of sounds (hence my transcriptions give *plicas* discrete pitch values)’ rests on David Hiley’s own catalogue of plicas in *TroubW* (trouvère *M*) rather than on new systematic catalogue across troubadour and trouvère manuscripts.<sup>500</sup> The problem is not that Hiley’s catalogue has been superseded so much as that what it demonstrates remains ambiguous.

Of the 40 or more plica insertions in the first two gatherings of *V*, most fit into the categories mapped out by Hiley. The most common places for plicas (by a considerable margin) are where *n* precedes a consonant, followed by *r* preceding a consonant. It is particularly interesting to note the insistence on plicating *r*, a letter the *V* scribe commonly omitted, as in *parler* and *arbre*; there is no evidence that the notator ever reinstated the letter *r* by adding a plica under the syllable where it would have appeared.

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<sup>499</sup> Tischler, *Trouvère Songs* volume 1 p. 10.

<sup>500</sup> Hiley, ‘Plica’, p. 391; cited in Aubrey, p. 239.

Table 7.1 Plica Additions in *V*<sup>l</sup> Gatherings 1–2 by Consonant Type

Type	Number Added to V	Augmentative vs. Diminutive
Vowel-n-consonant	7	
Vowel-r-consonant	6	
-nz	4	
Vowel-m-vowel	3	
Vowel-l-vowel	2	
-nt	2	
<i>et</i>	2	
Vowel-g-vowel	2	
Vowel-v-vowel	2	
Vowel-s-consonant	2	
-aill	2	
-ee	2	(1 diminutive)
Vowel-s-vowel	1	(diminutive)
Vowel-ffr-vowel	1	
-eign-	1	
-iex	1	
-uiss	1	
-oie	1	
-ou	1	

A significant minority of inserted plicas cannot be explained through liquescence. Three plicas appear on surd (as opposed to sonant) consonants outside of consonant clusters, two appear over pure vowels (as opposed to diphthongs), and two appear over the word *et* (effectively a vowel); in two cases, one on a vowel, one on a surd consonant, *V*<sup>l</sup>'s plica 'reduces' a binaria from another source.

Generally speaking, then, the plicas added in the first two gatherings serve to expand note-groups on syllables ending with *semivocales*; the notator must have believed in some qualitative difference between the pitch added by the *cauda* of a plica and that indicated by a square-note bound within a ligature, otherwise he or she would have replaced binaria with *plicae simplices* as well. The fact this occurs so

seldom might suggest the notator believed the exemplar was maintaining precisely such a distinction: the *V* notator must have assumed that the *KNPX* notators used binaria for full-fledged notes that were essential to the melody. The notator's response to *semivocales* was to add a plica, rather than to adjust the quality of such pre-existing notes. We are thus close to McGee's definition of a plica as 'a decorative ending of a fixed pitch', but in this case its use is still considerably determined by the phonetic context.<sup>501</sup>

The insertions after Gathering 3 are a little more haphazard; many are connected with single vowels followed by surd consonants, digraphs that had not been diphthongs for some time by the period of the manuscript's compilation (such as *ue* or *eu*) and pure vowels (other than *i* or *j*) followed by other pure vowels. In such cases, it would be hard to explain the plica as a reaction to considerations of pronunciation; nevertheless, we might still suspect some glide between adjacent vowels to be in operation preferentially to primarily rhythmic meanings which could have readily been indicated by other means i.e. (the syncope proposed by Gennrich, or the ornamental function described by Le Vot).

Some of these problematic cases may be reflecting a particular type of textual corruption, where the notators have failed to update the music to reflect changed syntax in the text. For example, in song 54 *De bonne amour vient science et beauté* (RS 407), the lemma that appears as *devant sont alé* in *M* is *sont avant alé* in *V*, *Mt* and *O*.<sup>502</sup> A plica appears on the second of these five syllables in three of these four sources, thus over the *nt* in *M*, but over the *a* of *avant* in both *V* and *O*. Other

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<sup>501</sup> McGee, *Sound of Medieval*, p. 50.

<sup>502</sup> *V* fol. 25r col. a staff VII, *O* 38r col. a staves VII–VIII, *M* 12r col. b staves III–IV and *M* 68v col. b staves II–III.

implications of this textual shifting against the music, what I have elsewhere called *glissement* are beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>503</sup>

The plicas inserted by Notator 1 are not mistakes, but form part of the copyist's vocabulary. Even when plicas appear at surprising melodic points, such as the end of the phrase in *Mauves arbre ne puet florir* (RS 1410, fol. 14v), we ought to interpret them as real melodic variants. The simplest explanation for the patterns in Notator 1's plication is that the notator understood the distinction between plicas and non-plicated notes and took pains to supply them correctly. The additional plicas found in *V* originate with the a notator committed to clarifying the specifics of liquescence and/or ornamentation, depending on what plicas meant to them. If the notator of *V*'s exemplar was unreliable, adding plicas where they couldn't possibly belong, the *V* scribe must have cleaned them up: the additions in *V* line up too well with Hiley's categories (and indeed the distribution in *K* and *X*) to be purely random. The examples where the notator retains a plica without realizing that the text to which it belongs had shifted supports the possibility that the music was copied from a source with plicas in place, but for a different text. Whether the *V* notator made the additions or not, it is clear whoever did had the plica as part of their notational vocabulary.

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<sup>503</sup> Bleisch, 'Glissements de texte', and 'Textual Transposition'. Germane to the consideration of the relationship between textual correction, underlay, and notators' 'multiple passes' to read both text and music is Lawrence Earp's discussion of 'intentional errors' in the underlay of Guillaume de Machaut's works in Earp, 'Scribal Practice', pp. 191–6 and 295–6.

#### 4 Removing Signs: Patterns in Repeated-Notes within Ligatures

The introduction to this chapter mentioned certain ligature types only locally common in *V*. The prime example is that of repeated-note ligatures, employed throughout Notator 2's copying, but used by Notator 1 exclusively in Gatherings 1 and 2. At the very point where usage of the plica trails off, appearances of these doubled-note ligatures abruptly end. Unlike plicas, they fail to reappear when Notator 1 returns to copying 'concordant' melodies; doubled notes over a single syllable remain absent until Notator 2 takes over on fol. 49r. Appendix C, Table 11.1 shows the pattern in *V* clearly: this is a full catalogue of appearances of doubled-note ligatures in the copying of Notator 1. As the category in question is a synthetic one, including signs usually considered in isolation, such as compound plicas and descending binaria with single notes, each ligature has been isolated in a separate column. The data bears out the relevance of the category 'repeated-note ligatures': only questionable appearances of such ligatures appear after fol. 17 and these probably indicate separate syllables.<sup>504</sup>

It is also clear that Notator 1 never doubled a note within a ligature unless it was copied from a source shared with *KNPX* or *Mt*: the sign appears only in the closely related songs in the first two gatherings, and in these instances, the *V* notator only subtracts or alters these signs, never adds them. The changes at fol. 17, sudden as they are, seem unlikely to have been instigated on the initiative of the scribe; they almost certainly relate to the change in exemplar already described.

The question remains: what are we to make of the return of the plica but not of the repeated-note ligatures at fol. 27? We could posit multiple lost sources, called  $\alpha$

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<sup>504</sup> A detailed discussion of *V*'s confused text-underlay and its causes and justifications is beyond the scope of this thesis; on this see Bleisch, 'Transposed Texts'.

and  $\beta$ . Let us say that the first,  $\alpha$  was copied by a slavishly literal scribe (except when copying plicas), whereas the  $\beta$  scribe was interventionist where melody and ligature-type were concerned, but left out plicas and ligatures containing doubled notes. One could construct a plausible chronology in which doubled-note ligatures, compound plicas and their relatives fell gradually out of favour between the time when  $\alpha$  was copied and when  $\beta$  was copied. Various substantive variants between the two could have come from either oral transmission, written transmission, or changing melodic style.

Of course, this is pure speculation. If it is appealing as a hypothesis, it is only appealing in so far as it might seem intuitively more plausible that a slow process of melodic and notational evolution could produce contrasting notational systems within a single manuscript, rather than that the intentions and reactions of a single scribe could have the same result. But this intuition rests on the assumption of the static attitude of scribes. The material evidence we have tells us a dynamic story of changing representational methods and melodic styles experienced and reproduced (if not caused) by a single individual. The notator probably did copy two gatherings from an exemplar full of plicas and doubled notes, then one more gathering from an isolated source that indicated few of the former and none of the latter. Might the notator then have returned to the first exemplar for subsequent gatherings, but proceeded to bring the notational style into line with the third gathering?

We could even push the argument to the other extreme, arguing that the series of pieces that begins in Gathering 3 was not suited to the old notational system and that the copyist knew it. Because the abandoned notational signs remain absent even after *V*'s melodic *rapprochement* with *KNPX* at fol. 27, the choice to forgo these symbols cannot reflect their particular irrelevance to the isolated melodies (something



we considered with the plica). *K*'s version of songs 52 and 54 have compound plicas and double-note binaria where *V* has plicas and simple binaria, despite the fact that the melodies are almost identical and even the transposition level and most plicas are the same. If the *V* notator did indeed return to the same source used for the first two gatherings at this point, he or she must have returned to it with an altered approach, one very far from holographic copying.

In contrast, starting immediately from fol. 49r, Notator 2 employs double-note ligatures frequently, even including a double-note ascending binaria on col. a staff *V* of that folio when completing the last song Notator 1 had copied.<sup>505</sup> While Notator 2 employs double-note ligatures less frequently than the *KNPX* scribes or Notator 1 in songs 1–35, Notator 2 does employ them in a wider range of instances (see Neume Table B).<sup>506</sup> Notably, these ligatures appear equally in concordant melodies, unique melodies, and in unica.<sup>507</sup> This alone makes it implausible Notator 2 could have inherited them from a single source with a particularly *KNPX*-like style. A further detail all but proves the symbols stem from Notator 2's initiative: only once, in song 284 (RS 1789, fol. 112r) does a double-note ligature in Notator 2's version of the melody coincide with such a symbol in the concordant sources, and even then Notator 2 replaces ligation with plication. It is even possible, given the correspondence of repeated notes with underlay problems, that Notator 2 often interpolated repeated-note

<sup>505</sup> There are sixty examples in all: song 114, v. 6, song 136, v. 2, song 140 v. 4, song 141, v. 6, song 144 vv. 3 and 6, song 150 v. 4, song 151 v. 6, song 153 v. 2, song 156 v. 6, song 157 v. 1, song 162 v. 6, song 167 v. 4, song 168 v. 3, song 170 v. 2, song 172 v. 2, song 176 v. 10, song 183 v. 5, song 186 v. 10, song 187 v. 3, song 188 v. 2, song 189 v. 1, song 191 v. 8, song 192 v. 10, song 197 v. 2, song 198 v. 2, song 216 v. 5, song 217 v. 10, song 218 v. 4, song 219 v. 2, song 220 v. 2, song 222 v. 11, song 225 v. 5, song 232 v. 4, song 234 v. 4, song 238 v. 7, song 247 v. 4, song 254 v. 7, song 257 v. 6, song 266 v. 5, song 271 v. 1, song 272 v. 3, song 273 v. 8, song 276 v. 5, song 281 vv. 4, 5, 6, and 7, song 283 v. 3, song 284 vv. 1, 3, and 7, song 286 v. 4, song 287 vv. 1 and 2, song 289 v. 2, song 294 v. 7, song 297 vv. 1, 3, and 12, song 301 v. 4.

<sup>506</sup> Songs 187 v. 3, 188 v. 2, 217 v. 10, 220 v. 2, 225 v. 5 and 232 v. 4.

<sup>507</sup> Eight songs are unica (151, 153, 156, 247, 251, 254, 257, and 281), fourteen have concordances (150, 168, 170, 189, 191, 192, 197, 225, 238, 283, 284, 286, 287, and 297), and the other 38 have unique melodies.

ligatures due to misreading the exemplar, something to be considered in Chapter 9. Notator 2, unlike Notator 1 was probably familiar with the signs and used them consistently.

The fundamental question here is whether the notators understood all of the symbols being copied, which of them they understood fully, and which they were only aware of as carrying a distinction without being aware of that distinction. Clearly Notator 1 believed double-note ligatures denoted some musical trait; their disappearance shows he or she did not have the confidence to insert them as with the *plica* (or perhaps even began actively removing them, streamlining the musical text by keeping only essentials). Yet if, as we are starting to see, fol. 17 marks the beginning of an entirely new notational system, repeating-note ligatures might not merely have been expunged, but replaced by some new element in the notation. This would then be a case of transference being superseded by real translation, to use Nicholas Bell's adaptation of Nida and Taber's categories. Before considering whether repeating notes were replaced and what they were replaced by, it will be necessary to survey the possible meanings proposed for them, and uncover any final clues as to whether the notator did fully understand these symbols.

#### 4.1 The Semantics of Repeating Notes within Ligatures

Tracing the history of the problem of repeated notes within ligatures and their significance for either repercussion or rhythmic indication leads us back to repercussive neumes and the *oriscus* of Gregorian chant. What we are dealing with in *V* most resembles what in chant sources in square notation serves to transcribe the *oriscus*. Interpretations of the *oriscus* have been varied and its transcription and

performance remain controversial. Furthermore, there is no reason to expect that its meaning would have remained stable over time, or that its square-notation descendants would share precisely the same function. David Hiley provides a summary of the common views in *Western Plainchant: A Guide*.<sup>508</sup> To explain the differentiation of the *oriscus* from other ways of indicating repeated notes, Hiley maintains the conclusion that there must be ‘some special delivery involved’ in performing the sign. He then goes on to outline scholarly disagreement over what that delivery was. While Peter Wagner believed this significance related to non-diatonic pitches, Eugène Cardine took the view that it had rhythmic significance.<sup>509</sup> A full discussion of the meaning and distribution of the *oriscus* or of its quadratic descendants exceeds the scope of this thesis. Until the completion of a comprehensive project tracing the use of the *oriscus* throughout its history and establishing its precise relationship to repetition within square-note ligatures, any suppositions regarding the significance of these signs must remain conjectural. Furthermore, rhythmic meanings the *oriscus* might have had in early chant manuscripts would have little bearing on a 13<sup>th</sup>-century analogue in any case, even assuming the latter derived from the former. It is only possible to state with confidence that the later signs (ligatures containing repetitions of the same pitch) had some significance distinct from that of their equivalents not containing repetition. The square-note equivalents of neumes

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<sup>508</sup> Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 359–61; McGee, *Sound of Medieval*, pp. 55–6.

<sup>509</sup> For Peter Wagner on the non-diatonic significance of the ‘Hakenneumen’, see his *Neumenkunde: Palaeographie des gregorianischen Gesanges* (Freiburg: Kommissionsverlag der Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1905), pp. 19–61 especially at pp. 19, 22, 36–8, and 49. For the rhythmic views, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 359, and Dom Eugène Cardine, *Sémiologie grégorienne*, Marie-Élisabeth Mosseri, trans., (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1978) first published in *Études grégoriennes XI* (1970), pp. 1–158, at pp. 56–65 and 71–122.

<sup>509</sup> For Peter Wagner on the non-diatonic significance of the ‘Hakenneumen’, see his *Neumenkunde: Palaeographie des gregorianischen Gesanges* (Freiburg: Kommissionsverlag der Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1905), pp. 19–61 especially at pp. 19, 22, 36–8, and 49. For the rhythmic views, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 359, and Dom Eugène Cardine, *Sémiologie grégorienne*, Marie-Élisabeth Mosseri, trans., (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1978) first published in *Études grégoriennes XI* (1970), pp. 1–158, at pp. 56–65 and 71–122.

containing the *oriscus*, and the signs that O'Neill calls compound plicas and double plicas, all showed information that would not be conveyed without the reiteration of a pitch. We might suspect that Notator 1 of *V* in particular was ignorant of the correct usage of these signs, but copied them holographically, merely believing in their meaning.

But what that meaning was remains ambiguous. The problem is one of semiotics in Leo Treitler's distinctive sense of the word.<sup>510</sup> By moving away from Cardine's term 'semiology', Treitler proposed shifting to an analytical project of a higher order, studying not individual signs but ways of signifying.<sup>511</sup> The object under consideration for his semiotics was 'the multifarious and variable relations between signs and signata'.<sup>512</sup> His theoretical apparatus rested on the groundwork laid by Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson, but principally on the father of anglophone semiotics, Charles Sanders Pierce.<sup>513</sup> It is from Pierce (though through a lens tinted by Saussure and Jakobson) that Treitler derives the distinction of particular interest here between *iconic* and *symbolic* sign types.<sup>514</sup> The latter rely on conventions of purely arbitrary signification: the sign contains no attributes that mimic any accepted structure in the signified, and the connection between the signifier and signified is based on an implicit agreement between user and interpreter of the sign to let it stand for something. For an *iconic* sign system or sign type, there must be 'some sort of resemblance between the notation and the melodic line'.<sup>515</sup> Treitler applies the

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<sup>510</sup> Treitler, 'Paleography and Semiotics', pp. 17–27 at p. 17.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23–4.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

distinction to issues of diastemata and to the upstrokes used in many neumatic scripts to represent a virga (used to represent a higher note).

For the time being, I apply only the distinction between *iconic* and *symbolic* relationships between notation and sound, in this case, the relationship between a repeated notes within a ligature, and the imagined sonic realisation of that melodic segment. When interpreted as purely iconic signs, repeated notes indicate both a break and a doubling in time (the left–right axis of the staff representing performance time in non-linear terms). The danger is a conventual agreement between medieval notator and medieval reader from which modern interpreters are excluded. What if the relationship was symbolic? And even if it began as an icon, what if it had lost its iconicity by the time it was employed by the trouvère notators? In Peirce’s words, ‘Symbols grow. They come into being by development of other signs, particularly from likenesses [icons] or from mixed signs partaking of the nature of likenesses and symbols.’<sup>516</sup>

The assumption of iconicity forms the point of departure for Robert Lug’s daring article on *TrouvU* (the ‘Saint-Germain chansonnier’), but his use of evidence results in more nuanced conclusions. He argues for a system of “microrhythmic” indications, relying on repeated notes within ligatures (*Doppeltönen*), and the assumption that the final note of a ligature was always ‘die Hauptnote oder Strukturnote’.<sup>517</sup> According to this theory, the use of *Doppeltönen* is restricted to the front and middle of ligatures for the good reason that an emphasis on the ligature’s final note needed no visual demarcation. Lug’s attempts to test the hypothesis in *U* are

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<sup>516</sup> Charles Sanders Peirce, ‘What is a Sign?’ in Nathan Houser and Christian Kloesel, eds., *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*, 2 vols., II: (1893–1913) (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992–8), pp. 4–10.

<sup>517</sup> Robert Lug, ‘Das “vormodale” Zeichensystem des Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 52 (1995), pp. 19–65 at p. 32.

promising: when a shorter ligature or a single note replaces a ligature in melodic repetition or variant, it is always the final pitch that is retained. The exceptions tend to coincide with *Doppeltönen*. One might think of an analogy to the development of the French stress-system out of Latin, where stressed syllables were retained as the final syllables of Old French words and short, unstressed syllables tended to be the first to disappear through syncope. The difficulties faced by scholars of accentual patterns in Old French perhaps foreshadow some of the pitfalls that attempts to generalize Lug's theory might face.

While *U* is fairly distant from *V* both in time and in repertoire, Lug furthermore notes that the same system can be seen in later chansonniers, in particular, *K*:

Die Verzweigungs- und Zeichenbau-Prinzipien von K sind jedoch mit denen von Saint-Germain vollkommen identisch; auch die graphische Konsistenz der Zeichenenden in ihren jeweiligen Zweigen findet sich in K ebenso durchgeführt wie in Saint-Germain.<sup>518</sup>

While this statement certainly does not hold for *V*, and an expansion of Lug's project through the *KNPX* group is far outside the scope of this chapter, the citation suffices as an argument that double-note ligatures (in the broad sense, including signs such as the 'compound plica', to use O'Neill's terminology, and compound binariae, such as Lug's '*pressus*') deserve particular consideration. It also requires more thought than the facile explanation of doubled notes corresponding to doubled length can provide.

If it is now difficult to reconstruct the specific meaning once attached to these signs, it must also have been difficult at the time of *V*'s copying. Both the trouvère melodies and notational systems were undergoing transitions and some of those transitions appear within this particular codex. The first notator's use of the sign is

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<sup>518</sup> Lug, 'Zeichensystem', p. 47.

inconsistent, as if he or she barely understands it, or fears the reader might not. The second notator avoids it altogether. Their processes of re-reading, omission, and replacement suggest an intriguing scenario: that the notators were attempting to update and clarify a language they themselves did not fully understand. Over the course of the first notator's work, the sign falls out of fashion perhaps due to its semantic and graphical ambiguity, perhaps due to the assumption that it is obsolete in a system that includes signs borrowed from mensural systems in polyphony.

#### 4.2 Notator 1's Use of Repeated-Note Ligatures: 'Corrections' to KNX in Gatherings 1–2

It is clear that in the first two gatherings, Notator 1 is not always sure whether or not he or she is looking at a doubled note within a ligature, or repeated notes at the boundaries of two syllables. Song 5, *L'autre nuit en mon dormant* (RS 339 fol. 2v) offers a perfect example: in verse 1, the scribe provides an ascending ligature consisting of three notes, the first of them repeated for the second syllable of *dormant*. The same grouping appears in *KN* and *Mt*. However, in verse 3, the scribe 'corrects' the music, removing the ligature over the fifth syllable. This facilitates the division of the final ligature into a single note and an ascending binaria, distributed over two separate syllables. The error originates with the notator's omission of a ligature earlier on, perhaps a simple oversight, perhaps related to an eccentric interpretation of the text. Yet the fact that he or she preferred to split the doubled-note ligature rather than to repeat a note or divide a binaria betrays a conception of doubled notes as denoting a lesser degree of coherence than the other ligatures.

Notator 1's ambivalence toward the sign shows through again in song 22, *De nouviau m'estuet chanter* (RS 808, fol. 10r) where his or her spacing betrays either an

uncertainty about the nature of the sign, or a carelessness about differentiating it as a graphical unit as opposed to the two separate neumes it resembles. In verses 2 and 4 (staves II and IV in column b of *V*), the rhyme word is set with repeated E's in every extant setting.<sup>519</sup> *V* reproduces this, but in a way that suggests both notes were only belatedly understood as belonging to a syllabic unit. The notator spaces the repeated notes so widely that they appear to lie over the two syllables of *marriz*, not both on the first. The final note of the verse, a C, is added almost as an afterthought, beyond the edge of the staff and well after the concluding *z* of the text. On the one hand, the placement of this C is easily explained by considerations of layout: the notator, wishing to avoid a repeat of the collision with the text that had just occurred with the C of *sui*, moves the C of *marriz* out to the margin. The first collision was unavoidable (save by a clef-change), as it came in the middle of the staff. Furthermore, it was more acceptable, as the note needed no stem. In order to place the stem on the final C, a drastic displacement was necessary. On the other hand, these vertical concerns do not explain the placement of the ED binaria on the double r of *marriz*: there was plenty of room over the first syllable, where the ligature belongs. Why did the notator cause this unnecessary spatial ambiguity unless he or she was dealing with ambiguous notation in the first place? The notator was unsure whether to retain a doubled-note ligature or to redistribute its notes.

Notator 1's uncertainty regarding identification is confirmed by a similar figure that concludes verse 4 of the same piece. There, an entire complex of repeated E's is compacted over the two words *a enuiz*. The notator has little choice due to the limited space and the single note on *a*, and the doubled-note ligature of *enuiz* become

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<sup>519</sup> *K*: p. 20, *Mt*: fol. 64v, *O*: fol. 34v, *X*: fol. 21r.  
*V*: fol. 10r.



pressed together. The real evidence of confusion is less from the spacing and more the fact that the notator has interpreted the middle E (what should be the first note of the ligature) as a plica. This would be the only example of a plica applied to the middle of a syllable and suggests an original interpretation that assigned a compound plica to *a* followed by a descending binaria on *en*, corrected (via the spacing) to a single note on *a* followed by a doubled-note ligature on *en*. Other sources managed to be much clearer: *X* and *O*, thanks to their respective staff breaks (fol. 21r col. b, staves IV–V and fol. 34v col. b staves IV–V) separate *a* and *enuiz* perfectly, while the *K* scribe is unembarrassed about running the two words together, leaving the notator to clarify the underlay through the distribution of the Es. In *Mt* (fol. 64v column a, staff IV), the three note-groups are spaced so evenly that there can be no doubt: the reading is *a e–nuiz* (see Plate 7.1).<sup>520</sup>

In one further instance, the notator inadvertently deleted a doubled-note ligature in the process of clarifying the writing. In song 30 (*Tout autresi con lente*, RS1479), *K* and *X* notate a binaria with the first note doubled at the high-point of verse 5, on the word *loial*, and immediately follow it with a simple descending binaria.<sup>521</sup> In *K* the division between ternaria and binaria is clear (still more so in *Mt* where a compound plica replaces the first ligature, allowing for a wider gap before the second descending binaria) while in *X*, the spacing is slightly ambiguous. Essentially, there are three notational elements, a stemmed note and two descending binaria, and two syllables to place them over. *V*'s notator 1 evidently assumed the two descending binaria belonged together and, in order to 'fix' this ambiguity, united the two binaria

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<sup>520</sup> Compare also the simpler alteration in song 23 in which *V* contradicts *K*, *X*, *Mt* and *a*'s reading by deleting the first, repeated note of a three-note group, leaving a simple binaria on *puissance*. *K* p. 21, *Mt* fol. 64v, *O* fol. 70r, *X* fol. 21v, *a* fol. 5r and *V* fol. 7r.

<sup>521</sup> *K*: p. 27 col. a staff I, *Mt*: fol. 75r col. a staff V, *O*: fol. 133r, *V*: fol. 14r col. a staff V.



i



ii

**Plate 7.1 Spacing of *a enuiz* in *V* and *X*:**

**i) fr. 24406, fol. 10r col. b staves I–V; ii) n.a.fr. 1050, fol. 21r col. b staves I–V**

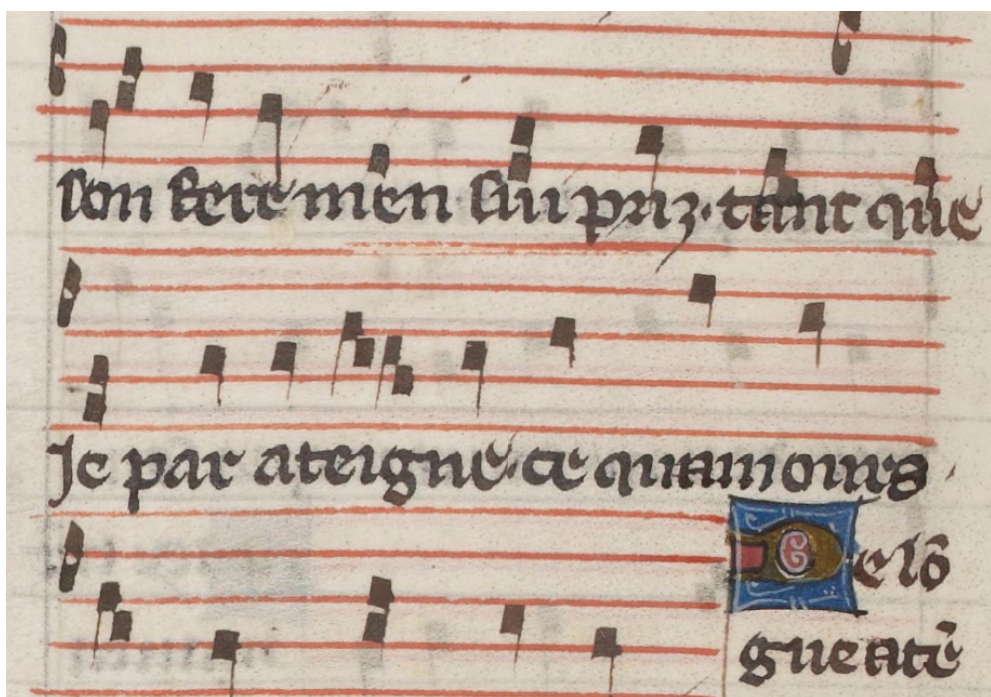
into a descending ternaria. This ultimately amounts to a minor musical change (the syllable change is placed slightly earlier than what is implied in *K*, *Mt*, and *X*); yet it demonstrates that musical changes could come about through the process of scribes misinterpreting other scribes. Notator 1 believed he or she had correctly understood the *KNX* penchant for doubled descending binaria forms; in fact, *V*'s notator was overlooking the equally common practice of doubling the first note.

The previous examples are exceptions that prove a rule: so long as *K* and *Mt* have repeated-note ligatures, *V* generally includes them as well. The pieces just described are the only instances within the first two gatherings of *V* where these types of repeated-note ligatures are treated differently than in *KNX*. Should double-note ligatures be counted as part of Notator 1's lexicon? This is precisely the type of question that never arises in O'Neill's methodology, or indeed in Aubrey's. O'Neill's

concern is with symbols that are unique to Phase 2 sources, not those they abandon. Aubrey is similarly interested primarily in what notators could *not* have inherited, not what they evidently did. Part of the task of constructing a scribal profile as a window onto a notational system (as opposed to outlining one for the sake of preparing editions) must be to determine which signs notators understood, which they transferred without understanding, which they avoided due to unfamiliarity, and which they removed precisely because they knew and understood them. There are limitations on how well a modern scholar can achieve this task; it would be hubristic to proclaim that *V*'s Notator 1 stopped using doubled-note ligatures because of not knowing what they meant, most of all because it is impossible to know whether these ligatures figured at all in the exemplars used for Gatherings 3–6. The single secure doubled-note ligature found after Gathering 2, in song 77, *Les oseillons de mon païs* (RS 15, fol. 34v) suggests they must have done; in the midst of numerous ternaria and quaternaria containing repeated notes, only one such note-group reached *V*, the stereotypical descending figure on *ataigne* in verse 9 (Plate 7.2).<sup>522</sup> All such signs are missing from *R* and there is a certain logical musical and notational progression from *K*, *N*, *P*, and *X* on the one hand and *R* on the other. If, in the first two gatherings, the first notator retained the sign more often than not, might it simply be out of the acknowledgment that alteration is only justified when the original is properly understood? And abandoned it after realising in Gathering 3 it was consistently unnecessary? We have seen that when the notator was confident enough to adapt the exemplar's notation, he or she arrived at a musical reinterpretation.

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<sup>522</sup> *V*: fol. 34v, *L*: fol. 53r, *K*: p. 69, *N*: 24r, *P*: 11r, *R*: 121r, *T*: 158v.



**Plate 7.2**  
**Double-Note Ligature by Notator 1, *V* fol. 34v col. b staves II–IV**

## 5. Conclusion: Notator 1's Approach to 'Special' Signs

Creating square-note 'neume' tables for trouvère sources as O'Neill has done paves the way for more detailed research. Dividing a trouvère source such as *V* into notational sections immediately shows that a single over-arching neume table can only ever tell a small part of the story. Which individuals the phrase 'the notators of *V*' refers to depends entirely on the speaker's point of view. The foregoing comparisons demonstrate that in the case of syllables set with repeated notes and with plicas, the music hands still visible on *V*'s folios can be distinguished from the invisible hands of the source's lost exemplars. We can perceive changes in source through abrupt changes in notation, partly smoothed over by the scribes' work of adaptation. Plicas appear throughout the source, but to varying degrees. Doubled-note ligatures appear only in the first two gatherings and frequently arise from (or cause)

ambiguity of text underlay. The notators were evidently more comfortable with the first sign than the second.

A tentative summary of Notator 1's approach to the doubled notes in ligatures might look something like this: the inherent ambiguity of repeating a note over a syllable (as there can be no pen-stroke to link the component elements) made it difficult to be sure when it was employed. It is possible the notator was unsure what information these pitch-groupings sought to convey. Lengthening could be indicated by other means. And neither notator seems to have been consistently interested in specifying when repercussion was necessary, if indeed that ever was the significance of the repeated pitches. Struggles with text underlay (to be explored in the following chapter) must have exacerbated the notator's confusion over doubled notes. In some cases, it proved safer to retain the ambiguity of the exemplar, thus passing the problem on to the reader. In most, it was necessary to make a choice, right or wrong.

This contrasts with the notator's approach to plication. For Gatherings 1 and 2, Notator 1 copied plicas (with few, phonetically justifiable exceptions) whenever they appeared in the sources and added them when they seemed necessary or appropriate. Thus the notator may not have agreed with his or her predecessors' interpretation of the plica, but generally trusted them only to use the sign where appropriate. Clearly the notator did not trust them *always* to use it where appropriate. As copying progressed, Notator 1 became less confident about adding plicas and perhaps less optimistic about the sources being copied from. Those sources, distant as they must have been from any other extant chansonnier, are difficult for us to judge now, but they probably employed fewer plicas. We can only assume that a fair number of the plicas in Gatherings 3–6 are due to Notator 1's own analysis of text and music.

## Mensural Signs in *V*: Function and Meaning

FOR THE PLICA AS FOR THE DOUBLED-NOTE LIGATURE, it was possible to discuss the meaning of the signs in tandem with their distribution in the source. For the non-KN ligatures, I have deferred the question of meaning until now. They pose certain challenges that did not trouble the discussion of the other signs: unlike double-note ligatures, nothing about non-KN forms points toward an iconic, instead of a symbolic, meaning. And unlike plicas, easily transcribed by the conventional means of a smaller note or a note with a slashed stem, they do pose major challenges for editions. The signs are discussed in detail in a number of theoretical texts and, to a greater extent than any aspect of notation touched on so far, have formed a major concern in the interpretive discourse around trouvère sources. This is a mixed blessing, as it means a complete literature review of the topic would require more than one chapter unto itself. The only way to avoid becoming bogged down in a number of preoccupations inherited from early 20th-century scholarship is to engage with this literature only when it becomes relevant to the primary evidence of the notational examples discussed here.<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> The references I make are thus exclusively to attempts to interpret the repertoire rhythmically using the notation, not relying on metrical analysis of text, assumptions about alternation of single notes and note-groups, or the rigid application of modal systems. The vast majority of the literature will not figure in the following discussion; for a strong and admirably non-partisan overview of the earliest debates, see Burkhard Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), pp. 74–83 for the first attempts at rhythmic interpretation, pp. 83–7 for Carl Appel and *freie Rhythmik*, and pp. 99–152 for the growth of the modal theory. For more recent summaries from the anglophone perspective, see also Haines' contributions, which rely on his considerable engagement with Jean Beck's personal documents including the notes for his unpublished comprehensive edition: 'The First Musical Editions of the Troubadours: On Applying the Critical Method to Medieval Monophony', *Music & Letters* 83 (2002), pp. 351–70 especially at pp. 353–4; and *Eight Centuries*, Chapter 5, 'Recent Readings', pp. 205–60; and Haines' own tables of songs with long–breve

I have defined the signs by the specific circumstance of their not appearing in the sources *K* and *N*, rather than by appealing to their assumed mensural significance. The justification was how perfectly the notation in the first two gatherings of *V* matched the notation of *K* and *N* in particular. *X* was excluded from the term on the grounds of its particular use of rhombs as single notes and *P*'s exclusion depends on its individual forms of ascending ternariae, yet neither source contains the non-KN ligatures. Despite this negative definition, the signs do appear frequently in other sources and other contexts of various types. The obvious approach to determining their function and significance in *V* would be to analyse how they are used elsewhere. This is a useful task so long as an important caveat is kept in mind: in any given song in *V*, the non-KN signs appear sparsely and in a scattered, inconsistent distribution that is at variance with other sources containing them. In this respect, *V* contrasts as much with other trouvère sources as it does with sources of polyphonic notation, the most obvious context for alternation between obliques, left-stemmed, and stemless ligatures. This is not to argue that the usage of the signs in *V* is unrelated to that in other trouvère sources or even in polyphonic contexts; merely that it is a unique development the notator's practice is unique in its specifics. Shoehorning it into historicizing narratives of the evolution of notation or of direct inheritance from polyphonic sources necessitates silencing *V*'s numerous divergences and eccentricities in ligature choice.

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alternation in *ibid.*, p. 29. For a francophone view of the same history, see Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou and Oreste Floquet, 'Musique mesurée ou non mesurée?', in Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli eds., *Les Noces de philologie et musicologie: Textes et musiques du Moyen Âge*, Rencontres 281 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018), pp. 195–216 at pp. 197–200. Aubrey's position presented in pp. 240–54 of *Troubadours* is probably the strongest synthesis of the rhythmic arguments with up-to-date views on *variance* and the action of scribes as interpreters. Her own proposals for rules of thumb on performance practice are difficult to challenge. From a philological perspective, Haines notes on *O* and *T*, cited above, are of course germane to this discussion.

The way medieval music has been taught beginning even in the thirteenth century predisposes us to assume that these signs usually appear for a very specific purpose, that of notating mensural polyphony. The consistency of the signs' meanings in theoretical treatises privileged today differs considerably from how they were used in practice. This has been demonstrated most eloquently by Nicholas Bell in his introduction to the exquisite reproduction and edition of the Las Huelgas manuscript, a polyphonic source that, despite its alleged reliance on Franconian mensural theory, takes an approach to notation that Bell describes as 'pragmatic'.<sup>524</sup> According to Bell, the 'rigidly idealistic' treatises of Garlandia and Franco represent a corner of medieval music pedagogy far removed both from instruction for performance, and from the flexible and even experimental stance taken in most theoretical writings by their contemporaries.<sup>525</sup> The difficulties posed by trouvère sources and the supposed ignorance of some of their scribes are thus based on an artificial view of medieval polyphonic notation. Transcriptions have often been based (when not on rigid applications of theories of rhythmic versification) on readings of notational signs that presume an injective function between ligature and significance.<sup>526</sup>

What *V*'s notators display in their practice of using mensural signs, as in their ductus, that of the text scribes, and that of the compilers, is their flexibility. Both notators adapted music from different exemplars and probably also adapted to them; a

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<sup>524</sup> Nicholas Bell, 'The Compilation and Notational Style of the Las Huelgas Codex', Doctoral Thesis, University of Cambridge (1999), p. 23 and *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile, Scriptorium Collection* vol. 7 (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), p. 76.

<sup>525</sup> Bell, *Companion Study*, p. 88; see also the discussion of Petrus Picardus' *Positio* in Jerome of Moravia's *Tractatus*, *idem*, pp. 86–7.

<sup>526</sup> See, for example, Theodore Karp's discomfort with the notation of the Envoi of *Ki de bons est*, otherwise 'a remarkable illustration of the cross-influence between theory and composition', in 'Three Trouvère Chansons in Mensural Notation', in Irving Godt and Hans Tischler, eds., *Gordon Athol Anderson: In Memoriam, von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, IXL/1–2 (Henryville, PA: Institut Musicae Medio-Ævalis, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 474–94 at pp. 481, 490.



single sign could have both different meanings and different uses. The result was not inevitably the most practical and certainly allowed for ambiguity, as we saw in the double-note ligatures of Chapter 7. Even this ambiguity and the inconsistencies that caused it betray attention and careful decisions by the notators.

*V*'s sparse use of mensural signs is much more surprising in the context of modern preconceptions than of wider notational practice. The inconsistencies of motet sources are notorious for the challenges they pose students faced with transcription tasks as well as researchers preparing editions. Michel Huglo points out that the only perfectly consistent execution of Franconian notational principles is found in another theoretical text rather than any music collection.<sup>527</sup> We might expect that *V*'s behaviour is then relatively normal, if not in theory, at least in practice. In fact, it is difficult to find analogues to *V*'s particularly restrained use of such ligatures. With the exception of *K*, *N*, and *X*, every trouvère source contains some of the ligatures either scattered throughout the source or in high concentration

This chapter begins with the theoretical situation as understood in the middle of the 20th century, when debate between proponents of mensural interpretation and declamatory rhythm began in earnest. By way of dismantling these preconceptions, I then progress to a consideration of how the signs are actually used, particularly in mensurally realized trouvère songs. The chapter will conclude with problems of *V* viewed first with an optimistic, semiotic lens, then with a more sceptical, palaeographic one. Each of the realms previously considered in relation to mensural ligatures (theory, polyphonic practice, and monophonic practice), has its own unique difficulties, as does, ultimately, every musical source and every theoretical text. Even

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<sup>527</sup> Michel Huglo, 'La notation franconienne: Antécédents et devenir', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale: X<sup>e</sup> - XII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* XXXI (Université de Poitiers, 1988), pp. 123–32 at p. 132, note 44.

against this backdrop of diversity, we will see that *V* and certain sections of other chansonniers stand apart. Models used to explain notational systems in other trouvère chansonniers, however nuanced, will need considerable adaptation if any are to be applied to *V*.

## 1. Non-KN Signs in Mensural Theory

For a simple schematic of the meaning of non-KN ligatures, we must turn away from modern studies on vernacular monophony entirely and instead consider the notational analysis of mensural music. Generally speaking, alternations in ligature shape between different types of descending binaria, ascending ternaria, etc., take on the function of indicating the relative length of the pitches within the ligatures. Modern writing on ligature shapes in mensural notation tends to divide them broadly into ligatures borrowed from the plainchant tradition (these corresponding mostly to ligatures in *K* and *N*) and those developed specifically for polyphony (roughly matching the non-KN ligatures). Plainchant ligatures are thus multivalent and function in multiple contexts. Their appearance in a given piece proves nothing about the manner of its notation. Mensural ligatures, on the other hand, are specific to polyphony and are more systematically employed as the 14th century draws closer, so that musicologists have relied on their presence to determine the nature of a piece and even its dating. The distinction between KN- and non-KN ligatures thus maps onto a clear modern distinction. Determining what it maps onto at the time and place of *V*'s copying, on the other hand, requires caution.

Willi Apel's presentation of ligature types exemplifies the modern understanding. The mensural ligatures (including most of the non-KN signs) may be

found lined up in several rows (those labeled *sine proprietate*, *sine perfectione*, *sine perfectione et sine proprietate*, and *cum opposita proprietate*) in Willi Apel's list of 'Pre-Franconian' ligatures, in *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*.<sup>528</sup> Their first appearance in Apel's historical paradigm thus lies in the grey area between modal and mensural notations: the early ligatures without propriety thus contrasted both with the undifferentiated ligatures of 'Square' notation and the 'unequivocal exactitude' of 'fully unambiguous and determined' ligatures in Franconian notation.<sup>529</sup> Apel lists the ligatures of square notation in his Part III, chapter 3 following an explanation of the rhythmic modes; these ligatures are then reiterated in the rows marked 2 and 3 of the chart for the Codex Montpellier.<sup>530</sup> Apel designates their mensurally marked counterparts as 2<sup>[x]</sup> and 3<sup>[x]</sup> with superscripts used to indicate their respective rhythmic categories. It is not that Apel considers the square-note ligatures lack rhythmic meaning in mid-13th-century notation. Rather, 'their rhythmic meaning is more clearly indicated by the introduction of those [new] varieties'.<sup>531</sup> Both the new and old shapes would figure in the Franconian system of notation and it is from Franco's treatise that Apel derives his division of the shapes, though not yet of their function.

Both Johannes de Garlandia and Franco of Cologne categorize ligatures into marked and unmarked categories.<sup>532</sup> Franco is most explicit in associating those

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<sup>528</sup> Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1942), p. 312.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232 and Table p. 297 respectively.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>532</sup> Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, eds., *Franconis de Colonia: Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), Capitulum VII pp. 44–8 at p. 44, '...ligatura cum proprietate essentialiter differt ab illa quae est sine, ut rationale animal ab irrationali'; Christian Meyer and Guy Lobrichon, eds., *Hieronymi de Moravia: Tractatus de Musica*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 250 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), par. 305, p. 185, fol. 67vb: 'Item [figurarum] dicuntur perfecte, item quedam cum proprietate, quedam sine.' The

having perfection and propriety (therefore the most ‘perfect’) with plainchant; we could thus justify seeing them as the least mensurally determined.<sup>533</sup> However, in practice the polarities could just as easily be reversed. The Garlandian tradition arranged the categories differently, so that the ‘default’ performance practice for a plainchant ligature in one treatise did not necessarily correspond to its interpretation in another.<sup>534</sup> Fritz Reckow’s survey of how figures with left-hand *tractus ascendentes* and *descendentes* reveals that, even long after the concept of *proprietas* was introduced and discussed, the distinction between *sine proprietate* and *cum opposita proprietate* remained uncertain.<sup>535</sup> Reckow argues from this example, as well as allusions to conservative employment of the *tractus descendens* in Odington and the St Emmeram Anonymous, that the notation of such distinctions was essentially at the discretion of the scribes, ‘ein ad libitum zum gebrauchendes Hilfsmittel’.<sup>536</sup>

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Garlandian tradition is represented by two very similar treatises, at least one of which predates that of Franco. One is the *Habito de ipsa plana musica* represented in Bruges Stadsbibliotheek 528, and a treatise by the same title in I-Rvat 5325 which matches the *De musica mensurabilis* included as the second *positio* in Hieronymus de Moravia’s *Tractatus de musica*, given here. Sandra Pinegar discusses the chronological issues behind the dating and comparison of these sources in ‘Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries’, Doctoral Thesis, Columbia University (1991), pp. 97–100. The historical identity of Johannes de Garlandia, or the several different individuals known by that name has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

<sup>533</sup> Meyer and Lobrichon, *Tractatus de musica*, p. 45 Capitulum VII, [36] ‘cum proprietate dicitur, eo quod sic in plana musica figuratur, ut hic...’

<sup>534</sup> Fritz Reckow, ‘*Proprietas und perfectio*. Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert’, *Acta musicologica* 39 (1967), pp. 115–143 at p. 118, ‘...doch wechseln unter den Beispielen für die *figura sine proprietate et perfecte posita* Ligaturen *sine proprietate* mit solchen *cum proprietate opposita* (nach der Terminologie des vorangehenden Abschnitts) ab’. Reckow’s examples thus show the same shapes in the different categories of *sine proprietate* and *cum proprietate opposita* introduced by the respective phrases ‘*Omnis figura sine proprietate et perfecte posita ualet <per> oppositum cum proprietate, ut hic patet...*’, and ‘*Omnis ligatura cum proprietate opposita et perfecta, ultima est longa...si sint ibi plures...*’, *ibid.*, p. 117. Reckow was working directly from the manuscript and from Cserba’s 1935 edition of Johannes (*ibid.*, note 3). In the recent edition of the Jerome of Moravia version (F-Pn lat. 16663) the same passage is tacitly corrected to distinguish *sine proprietate* ascending ligatures (stemless) from *cum proprietate opposita* ligatures (with the *tractus ascendens*), Meyer and Lobrichon, *Tractatus de musica*, par. 340, p. 186, fol. 68ra.

<sup>535</sup> Reckow, ‘*Proprietas und perfectio*’, pp. 118–20, quote found at p. 119.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

What further undermines the neat dialectic of plainchant versus non-plainchant ligatures is that some of the signs classified as *sine perfectione* due to their oblique terminations, still appear in certain examples of chant notation at a surprisingly early date. This is not at all what we would expect based on Michel Huglo's 'non-conformity clause' derived from Franco's writing. Huglo explains that in Franco's system, ligatures effected signification 'en raison de sa conformité...ou de [sa] non-conformité aux conventions de la notation monodique parisienne'.<sup>537</sup> The consequent ease of recognition for anyone literate in chant notation therefore explains the efficiency of the signs. The appearances of *sine perfectione* ligatures in chant books are obviously exceptions, not norms. Bruno Stäblein describes the influence of rhythmicized polyphonic genres on monophony, his *mensurale Beimischung*, as particularly characteristic of vernacular sources, but also as characterizing certain paraliturgical latin pieces from the 14th century onwards.<sup>538</sup> Spanke notes elements of *Ars antiqua* notation creeping in from around 1250 and, from 1320, elements of *Ars nova* notation.<sup>539</sup> Some chant notation too included ligatures that, graphically, matched *sine proprietate* or *sine perfectione* forms. French examples to supplement those Stäblein provides are not difficult to find; obliques and probably also stemless ligatures in early 14th- and even 13th-century northern French Graduals and Missals.<sup>540</sup> These signs could thus be at home outside of *musica mensurabilis* entirely,

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<sup>537</sup> Huglo, 'La notation franconienne', pp. 123–32 at pp. 129–30.

<sup>538</sup> Stäblein, *Schriftbild der Einstimmigen Musik*, pp. 68–9.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>540</sup> See, for example, the oblique or *sine perfectione* ternariae found in the Missal of the Cambrai Confraternity, F-Pn lat. 17311 fol. 9v, 15v or 25v. The manuscript's illustrations are attributed to the Artist of the Sainte-Glossinde Charter and dated before 1297 by Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Part 1 vol. 1, p. 71. See also some excellent examples of stemless descending binariae and turning ternariae in the same manuscript on fol. 10r, and in the Victorine Gradual, F-Pn lat. 1337 fol. 1r–v, intermingled with stemmed versions of the same forms. Insertions in different notator's hand in each of these manuscripts employ stemless ligatures almost exclusively. Stones dates lat. 1337 to the second decade of the 14th century, calling it 'stylistically similar to the Bible 'of Philippe le Bel', *ibid.*, Part 1

even in the strict Gregorian chant that usually ‘duldete von sich aus keine Beimischung moderner mensuraler Vortragsweise’.<sup>541</sup>

## 2. Sources with Non-KN Ligatures

It is almost a commonplace that very few if any 13th-century polyphonic sources adhere consistently to the theoretical rules of notation set down in treatises.<sup>542</sup> To see how the signs worked in practice, we must consider a handful of examples of their distribution in contexts where their meaning is no longer contested. It will then be possible to compare the use of the signs there to their appearances in *V* and of sources that share its notational characteristics, *M*, *O*, *R*, and *W*, *A*, and *a*. From among these chansonniers, the clearest examples of the signs in an interpretable context are in the later mensural insertions in the Chansonnier du Roi. These songs are among the few in this repertoire notated in such a way as to leave almost no ambiguity about the rhythmic significance of each sign employed. The ‘unique and remarkable trouvère song’ identified by Tischler, *Quant je voi plus felons rire* has only two ligatures also found in *K* or *N*: the descending ternaria on fol.

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vol. 1, p. 34. She situates it in the same orbit as the hours of the Cross illustrators in *US-NYps 56*, dated after 1316, *ibid.*, Part 1 vol. 2, p. 117. See also Musée d’Allard, *L’Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), pp. 286–7 where lat. 1337, Spencer 56 and the Bible of Philippe le Bel (which he dates to after 1310) are attributed to the same atelier.

<sup>541</sup> Stäblein, *Schriftbild der Einstimmigen Musik*, p. 69. Yet in other contexts, it would be impossible to insist that Gregorian chant is necessarily always unmeasured, since it was not even always monophonic; numerous melismas were, of course, used as measured polyphonic tenors. Whatever the reason, the ligatures Franco disassociates from plainchant appear there within a few decades of his writing at the very latest.

<sup>542</sup> Arlt, ‘Notations pragmatiques’, p. 405; Huglo, ‘Franconienne’, p. 132; Bell, *Las Huelgas*, pp. 72–5.

135r Staff VII, and the plicated oblique on fol. 135v Staff VII.<sup>543</sup> Each of the other 74 ligatures is either *sine perfectione*, *cum opposita proprietate*, or both.

i. *M*

Theodore Karp has argued that some of the more ambiguous insertions in *M* also showed signs of ‘a thorough familiarity with Franconian notation’ on the part of the scribes.<sup>544</sup> The song he discusses at greatest length, the five-strophe hybrid lai, *Ki de bons est* (No RS number) has only one *cum proprietate*, *cum perfectione* ligature, at the beginning of the *envoi*. In fact, even in an instance where both the apparent rhythmic pattern and Karp’s transcription imply the necessity of such a ligature, the scribe adheres to an oblique sign. This is in Strophe III verse 11 (fol. 215r col. b Staff XV) on the word *deschendre*. In a mensural context, we would normally expect a distinction between this binaria (preceded by a perfect long) and the next, on *plaisir* (preceded by a breve).<sup>545</sup> A similar problem recurs with the obliques in stanza 4 and in the first verse of the next song he discusses, *La plus noble emprise*. We might suspect that, when in doubt, the notator who made the insertion tended to avoid *cum proprietate*, *cum perfectione* ligatures. Some songs copied during an earlier layer of insertion into *M* also have clear mensural notation; one such, *Chanson ferai mout maris* (RS 1545, *M* fol. 94v) has no forms in common with *K* whatsoever among its five ligatures.

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<sup>543</sup> Tischler, ‘A Unique and Remarkable Trouvère Song’, transcribed at pp. 111–12. Two melodies exist for the song, one in *M* fol. 135 and one in *T* fol. 153v.

<sup>544</sup> Theodore Karp, ‘Three Trouvère Chansons in Mensural Notation’ in Godt and Tischler, eds., *Anderson: In Memoriam*, vol. 2, pp. 474–94, at p. 488.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*, transcription pp. 481–6 at p. 484. In fact, the only literal reading of the oblique on *deschendre* implies *tempus imperfectum*, an interesting possibility but not one Karp considers.

ii. *R*

The same total absence of ligatures in common with *K* is also found in the copy of RS 197 on fol. 64bis verso in chansonnier *R* and ‘the only song in the manuscript to be found in this rhythmically specific notation’ according to Matthew Thomson.<sup>546</sup> Some songs in chansonnier *O* are also unambiguously mensural but tend to have a lower proportion of non-KN ligatures relative to *R* and *M*: for example, *Chascuns qui de bien amer* RS 759, fol. 31r has five ligatures in common with *K* out of 18 bound note-groups in all (none of them clearly justified by the rhythm of the piece). As we shall see, this song with its ten *c.o.p.* ligatures still considerably outstrips any piece copied in *V*. The ‘semi-mensural’ songs in *O* are even further removed from *V*: the Mode-3 *Pluie ne venez ne gelee ne froidure* (RS 2105 fol. 99v) has longs and breves but no non-KN ligatures at all, even though a modal interpretation would predict the binaria *blasmer* in Staff VI to be an oblique; a notation following mensural theory would in some way indicate a different length from the binaria in *leaument* in the staff above.<sup>547</sup>

*V*’s use of non-KN ligatures contrasts with more pieces than the few clearly mensurally notated chansons and motet voices found in chansonniers. Even excluding all descending ternaria, songs from Schubert’s *R*<sup>3</sup> have a very high proportion of non-KN ligatures. For just two examples, *Ma douce dame et amors* (RS 2025 fol. 102r) has 8 non-KN ligatures out of 17, while *Je sent en moi l’amour renouveler* (RS 888 fol. 101r) has 12 of 22. In *R*<sup>4</sup>, supposedly most closely related to *V*, the proportion of

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<sup>546</sup> Thomson, ‘Interaction’, p. 157.

<sup>547</sup> This type of inconsistency is just as easily found in polyphonic sources and merely reinforces the need for Bell’s ‘blurring of the categorical distinctions between “mensural” and “without rhythmic significance”’, *Companion*, p. 96.



non-KN to KNPX-type ligatures does diminish. *Tres haute amour qui tant c'est abaissié* (RS 1098) has two K-ligatures and only 2 non-KN ligatures. The proportion and number of non-KN ligatures could thus vary, considerably more in *R* than in *V*. *Quant je plus sui en paor de ma vie* (RS 1227) has unique melodies for both *V* and *R*.<sup>548</sup> The melody in *V* has two non-KN ligatures out of 13, typical of the source. That in *R* has 8 non-KN ligatures out of 15, still more than half; this is by no means an extreme case if we consider *R* as a whole.

### iii. *V* Compared to *R*

Despite the concentration of apparently mensural ligatures, mensuration itself seems to be lacking in *R*, at least in a way that remains interpretable seven centuries after the fact. Even Karp, sympathetic as he is toward rhythmic interpretations, makes no attempt to fight for such a treatment of *R*, noting only that '[t]hese ligatures have not been judged previously to possess mensural significance'.<sup>549</sup> In contrast to the songs mentioned in the previous paragraph, the greatest number of non-KN ligatures in a single song copied by Notator 1 in *V* is six; even this occurs only once, in song 60 (RS 437), *Au renouvel de la douçor d'esté* on fol. 27v. The use of these unusual ligatures is even more sparse for Notator 2: the highest concentration of non-KN ligatures is four, only in songs 278 *Li desirs qu'ai d'achever* (RS 755) and 279 *Li granz desirs de deservir amie* (RS 1100), both on fol. 109v. The song immediately preceding, *Li joliz maus que je sent ne doit mie* (RS1186) comes in second place with three *c.o.p.*

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<sup>548</sup> At fols. 114 and 119 respectively. All three melodies are edited as no. 34 in Bahat and Le Vot, *Blondel*, pp. 255–6. The main melody is in *M* fol. 137, *T* fol. 86, *O* fol. 112, *R* fol. 119, *U* fol. 12r, *Z* fol. 8 and the *KNPX* group.

<sup>549</sup> Karp, *ibid.*, p. 478.

markings. If any section of *V* copying is most likely to have been copied from a late 13th-century mensural exemplar, it is fols. 109 and 110. It is perhaps no coincidence that three of the songs that appear on these folios are strongly connected to Arras: song 277 is attributed to Adam de la Halle and 279 to Jehan Bretel, while the *envoi* (only copied in *R*) of 278 is addressed to Adam de la Halle. Both the Blondel de Nesle song that precedes them and the unicum that follows lack any non-KN ligatures. The relationship of Notator 2's copying of the Adam de la Halle piece to its concordances will return as the final puzzle to close this chapter.

For almost every song in *V*, at least some ligatures are *cum proprietate* and *cum perfectione*. The exception is song 279 (fol. 109v col. b to fol. 110r col. a). The heavy reliance of ternaria composed exclusively of rhombs and oblique binaria closely resembles the songs in *R* with mensural signs, including *R*'s version of this very melody (fol. 95v). Yet, were we to posit a shared parentage between the two manuscripts' versions of the song, enigmas arise. There is a marked instability between the use of oblique binaria and ternaria comprised of rhombs, as if there were some graphical ambiguity between the two in the exemplar. In verses 1 and 3, *V* has obliques where *R* has ternaria, while in verse 5, *R* has an oblique in the place of *V*'s ternaria. Still more intriguing is the treatment of the end of verse 7: where *V* has an oblique binaria on the word *trop*, *R* indicates three notes on the equivalent word *plus*. However, these three notes are distributed over an oblique binaria and a single note; their placement over a single syllable is ensured using a tractulus before the following word *grant*. The redistribution of pitches then requires *R* to repeat the G that begins verse 8 in both sources. Problems of underlay when they appear in *V* will be the subject of Part IV; what is intriguing to note here is that if *Li granz desirs* was ever notated with rhythmic intentions, the expression of those intentions was thwarted

partly by palaeographical ambiguity and by disjunctions between text and melody. Perhaps it is this very disjunction signalled by the remaining *c.o.p.* marks in *V*.

#### iv. *O*

The chansonnier most commonly discussed in relation to the question of mensural signs (though not specifically ligatures) is chansonnier *O*. This was one of the first chansonniers to be published in facsimile edition, in 1927 by Jean Beck in a project that for several decades furnished support for proponents of the so-called modal hypothesis.<sup>550</sup> The source contains a mixture of pieces copied with the same ligatures as in *K*, some copied with clear mensural alternation of longs and breves, along with use of non-KN ligatures for clearly mensural ends, and others in what van der Werf has referred to as ‘semi-mensural’ notation, using only the ligatures found in *K*, but still maintaining the distinction of long and breve for single notes.<sup>551</sup> These pieces need not concern us here, since we only find the reverse scenario in *V*, ‘mensural’ ligatures, but no distinction between longs and breves. More interesting is the fact that the use of non-KN ligatures and descending rhomb ternaria has never been considered enough to convey clear rhythmic information in *O*; Beck claimed to see the conventions of ‘la notation dite franconniene’ at work in *O* only in the use of ligatures *cum opposita proprietate*; the others did not yet represent ‘valeurs définitives’.<sup>552</sup>

Matthew Thomson has launched a convincing argument that a number of *O*’s songs were copied from motet sources, or indeed originated as motet voices. His

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<sup>550</sup> Jean Beck, *Les chansonniers des troubadours et trouvères, publiés en facsimilé et transcrits en notation moderne par Jean Beck*, I: *Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit fr. 846, Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi* 1, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1927), vol. 1, p. XI, vol. 2, pp. 23–33.

<sup>551</sup> van der Werf, ‘Deklamatorischer Rhythmus’, p. 124 and *idem*, ‘The “Not-so-precisely-measured” Music of the Middle Ages’, *Performance Practice Review* 1 (1988), pp. 42–60 at p. 52.

<sup>552</sup> Beck, *Cangé*, p. 33.

project seeks to sort songs for which a motet-first chronology may be established from those which were only later developed into polyphonic pieces and in the process reveals circuitous paths of influence and inheritance. One of the most interesting results from the thesis is Thomson's conclusion that a song such as *Chascun qui de bien amer* (RS 759, Thomson's [1.8S]), could begin its life monophonically, develop into a polyphonic motet, and then be copied back into a monophonic collection while retaining the adventitious mensural notation.<sup>553</sup> Given new evidence that has come to light for the early hybridisation of monophonic genres with the motet, we should expect nothing less.<sup>554</sup> For eight of the songs Thomson is able to relate to motet voices, a mensurally-notated version of the monophonic piece exists, four of them in chansonnier *O*.<sup>555</sup> At the same time, mensural notation also appears used for songs with no known motet collections and in others the mensural notation seems unrelated to the motet version: the process varied from case to case.<sup>556</sup> Thomson's analysis thus leaves open a number of possible explanations for the use and superficial appearance of mensural notation in trouvère chansonniers, including inheritance from previous polyphonic versions and attempts at establishing a rhythmically notated version of the monophonic piece. It is only in the three instances where motet-voice concordances coincide with particularly concentrated use of *c.o.p.* stems and stemless binaria that he argues definitively for the inheritance hypothesis.<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> Thomson, 'Interaction', p. 157.

<sup>554</sup> Gaël Saint-Cricq, 'A New Link Between the Motet and Trouvère Chanson: the *Pedes-cum-cauda* Motet', *Early Music History* 32 (2013), pp. 179–223, at p. 188.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163 and Table 3.1, p. 165.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

## v. *O* Compared to *V*

Could this same process of inherited mensuration be at play in *V*? For certain songs, that possibility can be definitely refuted by evidence that will be considered in Section 4 of this chapter. Disproving the possibility on a case by case basis for every song with non-KN ligatures is unfeasible and it is more productive to focus on a larger scale view. The general situation in *V* is not comparable to that in *O*. First, songs in *V* with mensural signs generally lack any demonstrable connection to motets. Conversely, the songs in *V* that do have motet connections did not inherit any non-KN ligatures from those sources, even if there are other aspects of rhythmic notation.<sup>558</sup> Thomson discusses precisely this phenomenon in *V* in *Quant la seson desiree* (RS 505, fol. 60r in *V*, fol. 124 in *O* and as a motet in *I-Tr Vari. 42* (motet siglum: *Tu*) fol. 21v. This is a motet voice, yet it is surprisingly one of the few songs in Notator 2's hand to lack non-KN ligatures completely and even to avoid descending ternaria completely comprised of rhombs. Yet *V*'s version has some alternation of notes with and without *caudae* and contains 'passages which look remarkably like the kind of notation found in motet books whose ligatures are not mensural, such as I-Fl Plut. 29.1'.<sup>559</sup> There are also a number of songs in *V* that share intertextual *refrains* with polyphonic pieces, and one monophonic song (with a unique melody in *V*) that describes itself as a motet. Cross-referencing this list with the list of songs containing

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<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149–51, including comparative transcription of *O* and *V* with rhythmic interpretation of the former.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.*, at p. 149.

non-KN ligatures yields negative results.<sup>560</sup> If *V* did copy some of these pieces from polyphonic sources, they must have been early or very conservative ones.

Second, all concordant songs in *V* differ significantly in notation from the same pieces in *O*; in general, the distribution of the left-hand *tractus ascendens* within *V*'s songs fundamentally contrasts with that in the chansonnier Cangé, as it did with that in *R*. In *O*'s case, there are a number of songs that do contain only a few *c.o.p.* ligatures or a couple of obliques in the context of mostly KNPX-type ligatures.<sup>561</sup> The real difference is the range of different types of notation. *V* never contains clear alternation of longs and breves, whereas *O* does. *V* never has more than six non-KN ligatures (four for Notator 2) in a single piece, but *O* has. Where *O* seems to have switched between polyphonic and monophonic exemplars for certain songs, we might reasonably suspect that after the major upheavals of the first four gatherings, *V* adhered fairly closely to a single exemplar, or else imposed a single notational style on several sources.

#### vi. *A* and *a*

A source that more closely approximates the distribution of non-KN ligatures found in *V* is the Arras chansonnier, or chansonnier *A* as well as its larger relative, *a*. In the first 29 songs of *A*, only 18 have any non-KN ligatures (if descending ternaria are

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<sup>560</sup> Songs 168 (RS 1148), and 235 (RS 573), contain the refrains 144, and 289 respectively in Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et Refrains du XIIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). These two refrains in turn are found in motets from *Ba* and *Mo*. Song 254 (RS 1596) has refrain 1127, only in *Mo* and 256 (RS 2039)'s refrains both have concordances in F-Pn lat. 15139. Song 174 (RS 1669) has only a musicless motet concordance. The song in *V* calling itself (or perhaps only its refrain) a motet is 219, *Quant je voi l'erbe amatir* (RS 1390) attributed elsewhere to Perrin d'Angecourt. None of these songs nor their refrains have any mensural ligatures.

<sup>561</sup> Over the course of the entire collection, as Thomson establishes, there are relatively few deviations from the typical KN-shaped binaria (amounting to 40 instances in all), Thomson, 'Interaction', p. 175. *O*'s superior concentration of shapes is only to be noticed on the level of individual songs.

excluded). Among these, the average number of non-KN ligatures is 2.2 per song with a maximum of four in a single song, roughly similar to what we find in songs copied by *V*'s Notator 2. As in *V*, none of the songs in *A* are interpretable by Franconian or Garlandian rules, which would have to be applied sporadically and subjectively to arrive at any transcription, much less to assemble a rhythmic patterning. Nor do we ever find in this source the 'semi-mensural' alternation of single-note breves and longs. Thus far, the situation is directly analogous. The similarities end with notation, however. While much of the repertoire is shared between the two sources, their music only coincide in a handful of cases. Though many of the melodies in *A* are unique, these are never the same as those found in *V*. Furthermore, *A* frequently employs ligatures in which one square shape has been stretched and single notes which, according to O'Neill, 'resemble the *maxima* or *duplex maxima*, of mensural notation'.<sup>562</sup> These non-*V* ligatures pervade the source, setting it and *a* apart and earning them a separate subsection in O'Neill's discussion.<sup>563</sup>

We are left with a puzzle: *V* is not unique for containing non-KN ligatures in general, for its particular distribution of non-KN ligatures, or for the particular non-KN ligatures it contains. Yet when all these factors are considered, *V* never resembles any one other source. We are left with several possible hypotheses: that *V* offers a snapshot in the development of mensural notation for these songs; that its copyists tried and failed accurately to transcribe the mensural notation of an exemplar; that the notators retained only those mensural signs in the exemplar they deemed entirely essential; or that the notators inserted the signs for their own purposes without regard for the exemplar. These last two possibilities are considerably more attractive, as they

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<sup>562</sup> O'Neill, *Love Songs*, p. 44.

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43–4.

accord the *V* scribes the benefit of the doubt. An evaluation of the evidence of songs copied with mensural songs both in *V* and in at least one other source decides in favour of the last possibility: the *V* scribes were acting independently.

### 3. Evidence for a Symbolic and Phatic Function of non-KN Ligatures

The attenuation of non-KN ligatures in *V* relative to *O* and *R* cannot be explained through the systematic addition or suppression of certain symbols during copying. One might expect that *V* would retain at least some of the non-KN mensural ligatures found in *R* or *O* when the source shares a melody with one of them. This is never the case. Instead, in numerous instances, we find that *V*'s scribe adds non-KN signs in places where *R* or *O* has an ordinary ligature or a single note, while these sources include non-KN signs exactly where they are lacking in *V*. In song 277, (*Li jolis maus* RS1186) two of *V*'s three *c.o.p.* markings are shared, both of them in *R*, and the last in *A*, *W*<sup>1</sup> and *P*.<sup>564</sup> Even if this sign had entered into a notated tradition for the piece by the time *V* was copied, however, the marking on the second syllable of *longueument* had not. Every other source provides an ordinary ternaria, while *V* alone inscribes a *c.o.p.* ligature, furthermore, one that is constructed using an oblique sign, theoretically specifying that the final note of the group should be a breve. Not even *R* chooses such a specific marking, despite the fact that an ascending then descending *c.o.p.* ternaria and numerous oblique markings appear earlier in *R*'s version of the same song. We might well suspect that *V*'s Notator 2 had a different meaning in mind for *c.o.p.* markings than the scribes of other sources, or else simply interpreted this piece and

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<sup>564</sup> *A*: fol. 113v col. a staff VIII, *P*: fol. 211v col. b staff I, *R*: fol. 100v staff V, *W*<sup>1</sup>: fol. 2v col. a staff VIII, *W*<sup>2</sup>: fol. 10v col. a staff V.  
*V*: fol. 109r col. b staff X.



the notational directions it needed differently. In most cases this resulted in *V* containing fewer *c.o.p.* ligatures, but for one such ligature, the reverse was true. The type of systematic adjustment we described for the plica and doubled note ligatures in Chapter 7 would fit the evidence poorly in this case. Rather, it seems mensural ligatures were added to different sources independently and perhaps according to different rationales.

What could those rationales have been? Ideally it would be possible to outline the differences between *V*'s use of the ligatures in contrast to how they are *used* in *O* and *R*, not merely the superficial differences of frequency. In the absence of perceptible rhythmic patterns that would explain the need for mensural signs, and in the absence of an obvious alternative meaning for them, the best course of action is to analyse the patterns in where these signs appear within a piece, when they recur and when they are unique. As a test case, I will compare the appearances of *c.o.p.* ligatures in *V* to characterize in a general way their placement within verses and within stanzas. Choosing these markings in particular, the most common non-KN signs to be found in *V*, forestalls the possibility that palaeographical confusion is distorting the evidence. The other non-KN ligatures in *V* tend to support the same conclusions drawn from the *c.o.p.* signs, but their very consistency limits the amount of evidence to be gained from studying them. The majority of inconsistencies between iterations of the same musical material are found in the use of *c.o.p.* markings. The goal of the endeavour is to explain these inconsistencies in *V* as evidence of the scribe's flexibility rather than carelessness and to defend the scribe's use of mensural signs as having musical meaning. The supposition that *V* employed these note-forms as a graphical imitation of more qualified scribes is to be ruled out.

### i. Inconsistencies within Songs: Repeating *pedes*

The most striking inconsistencies in *V*'s usage of non-KN ligatures occur in songs of *pedes cum cauda* structure. In some such cases, the scribe employs different ligatures for the same pitches in what is apparently the same musical context. In song 77, *Les oiseillons de mon païs* (RS 15 fol. 34v), an ascending *c.o.p.* ligature appears in verse 3, but not in the equivalent position in verse 1. The music repeats almost, but not quite, exactly; were the repetition identical, the difference in notation would seem to defy logic. In fact, the discrepancy seems to point to an issue of co-ordination between music and text, or at least of the positioning of these particular ligatures within the musical phrase. In the first verse the ascending ternaria falls on the antepenultimate syllable, whereas in the third verse it falls on the penultimate syllable. The function of the *c.o.p.* marking might very well be to indicate the length of this syllable relative to its surroundings. More importantly, we can analyse the use of the sign from a semiotic perspective: by its very alterity, its presence signals a change.

Notator 2 can be found employing the sign in a nearly identical instance in song 278, *Li desirriers qu'ai d'achever* (RS 755, fol. 109v). Due to a redistribution of notes at the boundary between verses 1–2 compared to that between verses 3–4, the notator has a note too few in verse 4 and is obliged to clarify the placement of the ascending ternaria and indicate which note falls on the final note of the verse. This is accomplished by adding a *c.o.p.* sign to the ternaria (which, in verse 1, appears dangerously close to a separate note followed by a binaria) and by adding a tail to the following note, thus indicating that these two positions should fall on the penultimate

and final syllables of the verse respectively.<sup>565</sup> The b that follows thus begins the next verse and the reduplicated D that ends the staff may be interpreted as a *custos*, prompted by the large downward leap across the column break. Here, as in Notator 1's work, the *c.o.p.* marking indicates a change from what was expected; whatever connection the sign might have had with performance style or rhythmic interpretation, its use is only deemed necessary because there is a discrepancy to be pointed out.

Turning now again to Notator 1, there is a similarly clear correlation between shifting underlay and the use of *c.o.p.* markings in song 60, *Au renouvel de la douçor d'esté* (RS 437). Here the situation is reversed: the *c.o.p.* marking appears in verse 1 before the antepenultimate syllable. The phatic function is less evident; the symbol is established too early in the piece for its presence simply to denote difference. Nor is it the sole example of mensural ligatures in this piece; as we have seen, the six signs (out of 18 ligatures) found in this song amount to the highest number of mensural ligatures in any single song in the codex.

In four more songs, *c.o.p.* markings appear in one *pes* but not the other. In two of those cases (songs 75 and 158), this is merely the result of minor changes to the melody that render the *c.o.p.* ligature as a single note when the melody is repeated in song 75, and vice versa in song 158; in a third (song 136), the entire *c.o.p.* ternaria found in verse 2 is incorporated into the binaria that precedes it in verse 4 (the relation of *V*'s notation of this song to that of its probable exemplar will be discussed below). In song 277 (RS 1186, fol. 109r) on the other hand, the change is subtler; the position of the ligature is the same in both cases, but what in verse 2 is simply a plicated ascending binaria becomes a *c.o.p.* ternaria with a turn. Whatever caused the notator

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<sup>565</sup> That the ternaria falls on the penultimate syllable and that this position is reinforced by a sign that, in mensural theory, indicates shortening of time-values for notes, might be compared to the intriguing suggestions made in a recent article on musical length and weight in troubadour song and their relation to textual accent: Chaillou-Amadiou and Floquet, 'Musique mesurée', pp. 195–216.

to prefer an oblique to a plica in the latter case (possibly graphical considerations, perhaps the nature of the different syllable changes in the respective verses) also required the addition of a *tractus ascendens*. Perhaps this was no more than an indication that the three notes of the ternaria still took the same space as the plicated binaria.<sup>566</sup> Nearly the same exact issue can be seen in the replacement of a binaria with a *c.o.p.* ternaria in verses 2 and 4 of song 300 (RS 1247, fol. 119r). One oblique ligature is worth mentioning for a similar alteration in the *pedes*: in song 280, *En chantant plaing et soupir* (RS 1464, fol. 110r) the *cum perfectione* binaria in verse 2 changes to an oblique in verse 4 at the same time as an up-plica long in verse 2 (with only a stem on its right) becomes a breve (with a longer stem on the left) in verse 4. In mensural terms, both signs are shortened for verse 4; as in the *c.o.p.* examples

The other songs with *c.o.p.* markings in the first four verses are either through-composed (songs 113, 289) or have near-perfect notational matches between verses 1–2 and 3–4 (songs 62, 280, 297). Consistency of notation in a repeated musical phrase is unremarkable and might suggest either thoughtless copying from an exemplar, or unreflecting reduplication of what the notator had already copied. Adjustments to notational signs in response to musical differences, on the other hand, suggests attention to these types of sign on the part of the copyist.<sup>567</sup>

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<sup>566</sup> The use of a *c.o.p.* to indicate rhythmic ‘breaking’ (*fractio*) of longer ligatures to fit the space of an equivalent binaria could be seen as a logical development from Anonymous 4’s understanding of the sign as interpreted by Reckow: the strict theoretical equivalence between the first *tempus* of the binaria and the first two notes of the *c.o.p.* ligature might be replaced in this context by a more lax temporal equivalence of the two ligatures. Reckow, ‘Proprietas’, pp. 124–6.

ii. *c.o.p.* Ligatures in the *caudae* of *V*'s Songs

The examples above show that both of *V*'s notators frequently employed *c.o.p.* ligatures in *pedes* and in the *frons* of through-composed pieces. Notator 1 makes use of them just as frequently in the *cauda* (seven of 14 times) and, while Notator 2 limits their appearance only to the *frons* in nine of twelve songs, they appear twice as often in the second *pes* as in the first. Any attempt to explain the sparse use of *c.o.p.* ligatures on the grounds that they were employed only to establish a rhythmic pattern therefore fails; they were also used in the middle of pieces and toward the end. This is even more true of other non-KN ligatures, particularly obliques which are found in the *cauda* three of six times in Notator 1's hand, six out of 15 times in Notator 2's.<sup>568</sup> They might have been employed both to establish the rhythmic modes of certain pieces and then to indicate changes to the mode later in the piece; however, this hypothesis rests on the background assumption of the hotly contested modal hypothesis of troubadour and trouvère rhythm. It is safer to generalize the same idea and remain agnostic about the practical interpretation of the signs, rather focusing on *how* they meant whatever they meant. They were used to indicate difference, as warning signs. At the beginning of the piece, they might be used only when the performance of the song is meant to differ from that of the previous song; in the middle, they could be used to indicate an unexpected musical or metrical event.

The foregoing overview showed some examples in which the switch from a non-KN ligature to another sign for the same music could be explained by a subtly

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<sup>568</sup> For Notator 2, non-KN ligatures appear in the *cauda* in fifteen songs: 135, 138, 139, 176, 185, 190, 191, 231, 234, 268, 270, 275, 288, 290, 297 and within the *frons* of six through-composed songs: 125, 126, 150, 172, 178, and 203. They appear consistently in the two songs discussed above, 278 and 279, and inconsistently in six songs, five of which (136, 223, 259, 272, and 280) can be explained through musical or textual changes. Song 165 (RS 2116) replaces the two rhombs of verse 2 with a *plica brevis descendens* for no obvious reason.

shifting context; in such cases, we must suspect the scribe was using rare ligature types as warning signs. In other examples, there was no apparent explanation. In allowing this kind of inconsistency, *V* is in good company, as similar situations can be found even in some of the most clearly mensural trouvère songs. For example, even in *O*'s polyphonic notation, *cum proprietate* and *sine proprietate* ligatures can alternate without evident cause. In that source, the motet *Bien m'ont amors entrepris*/TENOR (RS 1532, EM 362–1, Ludwig 942a fol. 21r col. b) is notated with nearly uniform alternation of breves and longs as well as ligature choices consistent with the Franconian system, with the exception of the first two ascending binaria in verse 1. It is possible the slight hairline extension of the first of them is significant, but neither matches the ligatures in the equivalent position of verse 3. In fact, the ligatures of verse 1 look as though they were chosen without any thought to their mensural significance, as if the notator only realized he or she was copying a chanson starting in the second verse.<sup>569</sup> Such an appearance is deceiving: it is unlikely the *O* notator (uniquely praised by Beck for the care of his or her minute erasures and corrections) would have let such an error pass uncorrected. Rather, consistency of *sine perfectione* ligatures seems not to have been essential even in this late source and even in the courtly polyphonic repertoire.<sup>570</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> Gaël Saint-Cricq ('New Link', pp. 205–7) has argued on palaeographical grounds that the tenor was added after the copying of the motetus, or at least of the motetus text, in a different hand than the word *Tenor*. It is certainly clear that the tenor's 'staves are note aligned with those of the upper voice'; however, the song has a second stanza, appearing at the head of fol. 21v, just above the miniature. The choice not to copy the second stanza immediately below the first is unusual and it is clear the inclusion of two lines of music was expected by the initial text scribe. There were thus two phases in the song's inscription, not necessarily of its conception.

<sup>570</sup> Beck, *Cangé*, v. II, p. 27.

#### 4. Illegitimate Signs: Mensural Ligatures as Palaeographic Inheritance

The choice of *c.o.p.*'s, as mentioned above, was partly prompted as a means of avoiding palaeographical questions that arise for some other ligatures. Song 136 (*Aymanz finz et vraiz* RS199, fol. 58r), demonstrates how the origin of an oblique sign in *V* can be related to purely graphical considerations, at the same time as offering a clue to why certain *c.o.p.* markings were inserted.<sup>571</sup> In the first verse, the text scribe has reduced the syllable count by supplying *vraiz* in the place of *verraiz*. In the second, a syllable is added, in the form of the superfluous word *touz*. The regular, heptasyllabic verses of the other sources are not only more convincing in the abstract: they work better with the music Notator 2 supplies. Despite overlooking the trisyllabic pronunciation of *Aymanz*, the notator still attempts to fit in every ligature that appears in *KNP*, *M* and *O*. The small *tractus* separating the plica from the following ternaria at the end of verse 1 shows that the notator had realized the mistake and wished to indicate the word break fell at that point, despite the spatial distribution of text. The notator thus begins the second verse well coordinated until the inserted *touz*: at that point, an extra ligature is required. The two mensural ligatures that follow are in fact the component parts of the compound ligature that appears in *KNP* and *O* (*M*'s version, though similar, spells out each note-head as a square). The apparent oblique *sine perfectione* mark in *V* is better considered as the first two strokes of *KNP*'s sign denoting ternaria which descend then ascend. The rest of the ligature is nearly identical, with the notable addition of the *c.o.p.* marking. In light of the previous examples, a logical reading would be to see it as a delimiting marker, or a warning sign. As far as Notator 2 was concerned, other sources had mistakenly united

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<sup>571</sup> *K*: pp. 214–15; *O*: fol. 8r; *R*: fol. 83r–v; *V*: fol. 58r.

two distinct ligatures. To avoid a similar mistake by *V*'s readers, a vertical stroke proved useful.

On the other hand, assuming a more drastic departure from Notator 1's practice, we could also turn this interpretation around: the marking is a means of uniting the two ligatures, retaining the rhythm of a heptasyllabic verse despite the addition of the extra word. The *c.o.p.* marking's theoretical meaning of *fractio* might here be applied at the level of ligature rather than note: after all, the two note-groups that follow the *tractus ascendens* in *V* are to be fitted into the space of a single note-group in *K*. On the rhythmic level, the Franconian meaning of the *c.o.p.* marking could also imply function as a warning against drawing out the E-F-E ternaria, originally part of a longer (and thus, perhaps, a quicker) melisma. The repetition of the second E, exclusive to *V*, seems to emphasize the notator's opinion that this is the arrival note and confirm that the EFE ternaria has less weight than the EC binaria. The graphical similarity between *V* and the other sources, though not exact, is striking and the entire example is suggestive of the ways music might transform through the accidents of otherwise literal scribal copying. Yet even in this case, the possibility of such accidents must have been afforded by specific beliefs about the meanings of these signs.



## 5. Conclusion

In the extensive debates over the rhythmic interpretation of vernacular monophony, the question of scribal competence and obsolescence have frequently arisen.<sup>572</sup> For such claims to have any meaning requires a rigid historical view of progress from one extreme of non-mensural notation to another. The inconsistencies found in *trouvère* chansonniers are no more difficult to explain than those in polyphonic sources, though the notation of the songs is more likely to be obscured in the absence of multiple voices to constrain the seemingly limitless possibilities for interpretation. It remains well within the realm of possibility that *V*'s use of mensural ligatures bears some relationship to mensural notation. The examples presented in this chapter show that whatever this relationship was, it most likely involved active decisions by the scribe rather than passive inheritance from previous sources, or incompetent attempts to regurgitate a half-comprehended system.

Given an up-to-date point of view on the pragmatic uses of mensural notation in polyphonic sources it is now possible to attempt for the *V* notators what Beck undertook in 1927 for *O*: 'pénétrer le mécanisme intellectuel du scribe et du notateur'.<sup>573</sup> Perhaps even more importantly, building on Treitler's models, we can also hope to penetrate the semiotic mechanism by which the notator's musical intellect is expressed. The fact that visual (instead of musical) considerations could influence the functioning of scribal intelligence does not diminish it. And the existence of such visual influences does not negate the notators' use of a particularly

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<sup>572</sup> See, for example, Beck's praise of the *O* notator for being *au courant* (Cangé, loc. cit.) and van der Werf's argument that the *W* notator 'demonstrated his familiarity with mensural notation' but failed to employ it for the monophonic songs, proving their lack of strict rhythm ("Not-so-precisely Measured", p. 45).

<sup>573</sup> Beck, *Cangé*, vol. 2, p. 9.

sophisticated set of symbols to specialized ends. Those ends were particular to two scribes over seven centuries ago; it is no surprise if we can only catch glimpses of them now.

## Epilogue

THIS THESIS BEGAN WITH THE PROMISE of catching  $V^1$ 's music notators in the act of creative copying and describing their notational craftsmanship. Parts I and II traced the history of the manuscript after and before the work of the  $V^1$  notators to build the foundation for Part III's description of the notators themselves. Part I's reconsideration of the different contexts in which the manuscript was owned and described and of the different criteria applied by different readers relativizes the view of the book as a 'good' or 'bad' source. The problems the source poses for editors did not disappoint its earlier owners, as the marks of use demonstrate. In Part I, I also argued that neither the scribes of  $V^1$  nor those of  $V^2$  completed their copying with the other codex in mind and a valuation and description of the quality of  $V^1$ 's contents ought to exclude  $V^2$ . Reading  $V^1$  against  $V^2$  belongs to a later stage of the manuscript's history, albeit one that is a fruitful area for inquiry in its own right.

In the other direction, expanding our understanding of the sources that lay behind  $V^1$ 's compilation exonerates its scribes and notators from responsibility for the editorial challenges their songs pose for us. The notators' work was limited by the exemplars that came to hand, perhaps exemplars assigned to them by a *librarius* simultaneously responsible for other compilations than  $V$ . Part II demonstrated the diversity of these lost exemplars. Some were deficient, some fragmentary or damaged; others must have contained musical settings now often assumed to be unique to  $V$ . The modern estimation of the source has been shaped both by the materials it was copied from, and by the circumstances of loss that ensured so many of its melodies later became 'isolated'.

Part III described how the notators worked, how they adapted to their changing codicological and notational surroundings, and to their own failures. *V*'s scribes and notators were intelligent, active, and above all flexible. We have seen the reasons why that flexibility was necessary. Manuscript fr. 24406 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France is now very different from the chansonnier first envisaged by the compilers and scribes. The changes to the codex began quickly: the exemplars used for copying the latter part of the collection were not the same as those used for its first gatherings. The practice of retaining notational signs from the exemplar was jettisoned and new ligatures from other systems of notation had to be borrowed. Physical considerations intervened as well: Notator 1's plan to use five-line staves had to be abandoned; clefs had to be changed in the middle of a staff. Each of the aspects of notation considered in Part III is to some degree pre-determined by factors external to the notators. At the same time, some of the most interesting details, such as the use of plicas and of non-KN or mensural ligatures, can be traced to scribal initiative.

We have also seen the book itself as an adaptable entity, shaped by physical changes to its form, and by the reconceptualizations afforded by modern scholarly culture. The plan of *V*'s decoration beginning the book was replaced by a binding where it followed an undecorated miscellany. The chansonnier made to be prized for its visual appearance, the comprehensiveness of its musical contents and the wide range of exemplars used, has been later in its life criticized and ignored for the sloppy appearance of its appendages, and for the anomalies and inconsistencies in its own contents. And we have seen how the book can serve as a source for critical editing, a trove of unique melodies, and as a wealth of evidence about scribal craft.

This account of the history of the manuscript has thus pushed away from the search for origins and originals and has looked instead for processes, actions, and evaluations. The activities of reading, writing, singing and (in the aesthetic sense) judging are intimately bound up in the compilation of a book. So long as it keeps being opened, they characterise every stage of its life thereafter. In the sense that this thesis is about the lines and curves made in ink and lead currently situated between two leather-covered boards, it is a manuscript study. It is, however, less about the lines and curves in themselves than it is about the making and reading of these signs.

The history of the manuscript and its readings therefore includes the scholarship on the manuscript and modern editions of its songs. We have begun to see some of the notators' flexibility and initiative accounted for in these editions, especially Bahat and Le Vot's Blondel volume and most recently, the transcriptions of *V*'s unique melodies and the comprehensive melodic apparatus criticus of Callahan, Grossel, and O'Sullivan's edition of Thibaut de Champagne. *V*'s history will also include future editions; most of the songs McAlpine neglects have never been presented outside of Tischler's rhythmicized edition. It remains to be seen how such an edition could adequately represent the flexibility and intelligence of the notators. Chief among the challenges such an edition would entail is that posed by the *décalage* and *glissements* between music and text, a topic to be addressed in greater detail in the preface to any future edition.

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<sup>574</sup> A full black-and-white photo-reproduction is currently accessible online at <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=19136>.

<sup>575</sup> The library has produced a colour digitization of the manuscript which is currently accessible online at <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bbb/0231/1v/0/Sequence-2735>.

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<sup>577</sup> All trouvère sources with music held at the Paris libraries may be consulted in colour reproduction online, currently accessible at <http://gallica.bnf.fr> under their respective shelfmarks.

<sup>578</sup> The library has produced a colour digitization of the manuscript which is currently accessible online at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Reg.lat.1490](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1490).

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## Appendix A

### Supplementary Manuscript Description

#### 1 Gathering Structure

The following gathering structure relies as much on subtle differences in the feel and appearance of individual pieces of parchment as on the integrity of the gatherings (Table 9.1 and see also Chapter 1, Figure 1.1). By this interpretation, the neat division into sesternions by the gathering signatures is pure wishful thinking.

The physical similarity between fols. 133 and 135 and the contrast between 133 and 134 suggest the surprising organization of the third gathering. The binding between 137 and 138 confirms the following binion. The next folio, 140, is much stiffer than its supposed counterpart (fol. 143), and the explicit on the recto makes it difficult to imagine it as the beginning of a new gathering. It is clear, however, that fols. 141–142 make up a bifolio, and fols. 140 and 143 were thus either inserted as individual folios, or are in fact the outside of a binion. They were evidently treated very differently by the scribe in this latter case.

Fols. 144–145 are indisputably a separate bifolio, despite the gathering signature labels. The identification of fols. 146–155 as a quinternion remains secure, thanks to the following evidence of nesting: fols. 149 and 152, for example, protrude slightly below fols. 148 and 153, while fols. 150–151 extend even further down. Fortunately, the binder was negligent when cutting this gathering.

Table 9.1 Gatherings, Signatures, and Foliation in fr. 24406

1. Gathering	2. Gathering signatures	3. Gathering Numbers (roman)	4. Gathering Numbers (arabic)	5. Black arabic pag.	6. Brown roman fol.	7. Red arabic fol.	8. Penciled arabic fol.	9. Folio (Gallica)
1	[e i]		[1]	1	[xxv]	1		1r
				2				1v
	[e ii]			3	xxvi	2		2r
				4				2v
	[e iii]			5	xxvii	3		3r
				6				3v
	[e iv]			7	xxviii	4		4r
				8				4v
				9	xxix	5		5r
				10				5v
				11	xxx	6		6r
				12				6v
				13	xxxi	7		7r
				14				7v
				15	xxxii	8		8r
				16				8v
2	f i		2	17	xxxiii	9		9r
				18				9v
	f ii			19	xxxiiii	10		10r
				20				10v
	f iii			21	xxxv	11		11r
				22				11v
	f iiii			23	xxxvi	12		12r
				24				12v
				25	xxxvii	13		13r
				26				13v
				27	xxxviii	14		14r
				28				14v
				29	xxxix	15		15r
				30				15v
				31	xxxx	16		16r
				32				16v
3	g i		3	33	vlxi<xli>	17		17r
				34				17v
	g ii			35	xlii	18		18r
				36				18v
	g iii			37	xliii	19		19r
				38				19v
	g iiii			39	xliv	20		20r
				40				20v
				41	xlvi	21		21r
				42				21v
				43	xlvi	22		22r
				44				22v
				45	xlvi	23		23r
				46				23v
				47	<xx>xlvi	24		24r
		.III.		48				24v

4	h i		4	49	xlix	25		25r
				50				25v
	h ii			51	l	26		26r
				52				26v
	h iii			53	li	27		27r
				54				27v
	h iiii			55	lii	28		28r
				56				28v
				57	liii	29		19r
				58				19v
				59	liiii	30		30r
				60				30v
				61	lv	31		31r
				62				31v
				63	lvi	32		32r
		.III.		64				32v
5	j i		5	65	<x>lvii	33		33r
				66				33v
	j ii			67	lviii	34		34r
				68				34v
	j iii			69	lix	35		35r
				70				35v
	j iiii			71	lx	36		36r
				72				36v
				73	[lxi]	37		37r
				74				37v
				75	[lxii]	38		38r
				76				38v
				77	[lxiii]	39		39r
				78				39v
				79	[lxiv]	40		40r
		.V. et mon desir		80				40v
6	k i		6	81	[lxv]	41		41r
				82				41v
	k ii			83	[lxvi]	42		42r
				84				42v
	k iii			[85]	[lxvii]	43		43r
				8<5>6				43v
	k iiii			<87>	[lxviii]	44		44r
				88				44v
				[89]	[lxix]	45		45r
				90				45v
				[91]	[lxx]	46		46r
				92				46v
				[93]	[lxxi]	47		47r
				94				47v
				[95]	[lxxii]	48		48r
		[.]VI[.]		96				48v
7	l i		7	[97]	[lxxiii]	49		49r
				98				49v
	l ii			[99]	[lxxiv]	50		50r
				100				50v
	l iii			[101]	[lxxv]	51		51r
				102				51v
	[l iv]			[103]	[lxxvi]	52		52r
				104				52v

				[105]	[lxxvii]	53		53r
				[106]				53v
				107	[lxxviii]	54		54r
				108				54v
				[109]	[lxxix]	55		55r
				[110]				55v
				[111]	[lxxx]	56		56r
		.VII.		112				56v
8	m i		8	[113]	[lxxxi]	57		57r
				[114]				57v
	m ii			116	[lxxxii]	58		58r
				[115]				
				[116]				58v
	m iii			[117]	[lxxxiii]	59		59r
				[118]				59v
	m iiiii			118	[lxxxix]	60		60r
				[119]				
				122				60v
				[120]				
				123	[lxxxx]	61		61r
				[121]				
				<121>				61v
				122				
				124	[lxxxxi]	62		62r
				[123]				
				[124]				62v
9			9	12<6>	[lxxxii]	63		63r
				5				
				<127>				63v
				126				
				[127]	[lxxxiii]	64		64r
		.VIII. mesages		[128]				64v
	n i			[129]	[lxxxiv]	65		65r
				130				65v
	n ii			131	[lxxxv]	66		66r
				[132]				66v
	n iii			[133]	[lxxxvi]	67		67r
				135				67v
				[134]				
	n iiiii			[135]	[lxxxvii]	68		68r
				136				68v
				[137]	[lxxxviii]	69		69r
				[138]				69v
10			X	[139]	[lxxxix]	70		70r
				140				70v
				136	[c]	71		71r
				[141]				
				142				71v
				[143]	[ci]	72		72r
		[.IX.]		[144]				72v
	o i			[145]	[cii]	73		73r
				[146]				73v
	o ii			147	[ciii]	74		74r
				148				74v
	o iii			149	[civ]	75		75r
10				150				75v
	o iiiii			151	[cv]	76		76r

				152				76v
				153	[cvi]	77		77r
				154				77v
				155	[cvii]	78		78r
				156				78v
				157	[cviii]	79		79r
				158				79v
				159	[cix]	80		80r
				160				80v
		.X.						81r
11	p i		XI	[161]	[cx]	81		81v
				[162]				82r
	p ii			163	[cxi]	82		82v
				[164]				83r
	p iii			165	[cxii]	83		83v
				[166]				84r
	p iiiii			[167]	[cxiii]	84		84v
				[168]				85r
				167	[cxiv]	85		85v
				[169]				86r
				170				86v
				[171]	[cxv]	86		87r
				[172]				87v
				[173]	[cxvii]	87		88r
				[174]				88v
				[175]	[cxvii]	88		89r
12		[.XI. ...]	12	[176]				89v
	q i			177	[cxviii]	89		90r
				[178]				90v
	q ii			[179]	[cxix]	90		91r
				180				91v
	q iii			181	[cxx]	91		92r
				182				92v
	q iiiii			[183]	[cxxi]	92		93r
				[184]				93v
				185	[cxxii]	93		94r
				[186]				94v
				[187]	[cxxiii]	94		95r
				189				95v
				[188]				96r
				<190>	[cxxiv]	95		96v
				189				97r
13			13	190				97v
				[191]	[cxxv]	96		98r
		[.XII.]		[192]				98v
	r i			[193]	[cxxvi]	97		99r
				[194]				99v
	r ii			195	[cxxvii]	98		100r
				[196]				100v
	r iii			197	[cxxviii]	99		101r
				[198]				101v
	r iiiii			199	[cxxix]	100		102r
				[200]				102v
				[201]	[cxxx]	101		103r
				202				103v
				[203]	[cxxxii]	102		
				[204]				
				[205]				
				[206]				

				[207]	[cxxxiii]	104		104r
		[.XIII.]		[208]				104v
14	s i		14	[209]	[cxxxiv]	105		105r
				210				105v
	s ii			211	[cxxxv]	106		106r
				<212>				106v
	s iii			213	[cxxxvi]	107		107r
				[214]				107v
	s iiiii			[215]	[cxxxvii]	108		108r
				[216]				108v
				[217]	[cxxxviii]	109		109r
				[218]				109v
				[219]	[cxxxix]	110		110r
				220				110v
				[221]	[cxxxx]	111		111r
				222				111v
15		[.XIV.]	15	[223]	[cxxxxi]	112		112r
	t i			[224]				112v
				[225]	[cxxxixii]	113		113r
				[226]				113v
	t ii			[227]	[cxxxixiii]	114		114r
				[228]				114v
	t iii			229	[cxxxixiv]	115		115r
				[230]				115v
	t iiiii			[231]	[cxxxixv]	116		116r
				[232]				116v
				[233]	[cxxxixvi]	117		117r
				234				117v
				[235]	[cxxxixvii]	118		118r
				236				118v
16			16	[237]	[cxxxixviii]	119		119r
				[238]				119v
								[119bis r]
								[119bis v]
	a i				[i]	120		120r
								120v
	a ii				[ii]	121		121r
								121v
	a iii				[iii]	122		122r
								122v
	a iiiii				[iv]	123		123r
								123v
	a v				[v]	124		124r
								124v
	a vi				[vi]	125		125r
								125v
					[vii]	126		126r
								126v
					[viii]	127		127r
								127v
					[ix]	128		128r
								128v
					[x]	129		129r
								129v
					[xi]	130		130r
								130v

					[xii]	131		131r
								131v
17	b i		17		[xiii]	132		132r
								132v
LACUNA								
18	b ii		18		viii	133		133r
								133v
	b iii				xiii	134		134r
								134v
	b iiiii				vi	135		135r
								135v
19	b v		19		ix	136		136r
								136v
	b vi				x	137		137r
								137v
	[b] vii				xi	138		138r
								138v
	viii				xii	139		139r
							Penciled arabic fol.	139v
20	B ix					140	140	140r
								140v
[20bis?]	b x					141	141	141r
								141v
	b xi <del>e-ii</del>					142		142r
								142v
[20ter?]	b xii <del>e-iii</del>					143	143	143r
								143v
21	c iiiii		21			144		144r
								144v
	c v					145		145r
								145v
22	∂ i					146		146r
								146v
	d ii				<xvi>	147		147r
								147v
	d iii				xvii	148		148r
								148v
	d iiiii				xviii	149		149r
								149v
	d v				xix	150		150r
								150v
					xx	151		151r
								151v
					xxi			152r
								152v
					xxii			153r
								153v
					xxiii			154r
								154v
					[xxiv]			155r
								155v

Note: [My insertion] (scribal insertion) <erasure>

## 2      Pagination

Table 1.1 compares the gathering structure, gathering numbers and signatures, foliations and paginations in  $V^1$  and  $V^2$ . The pagination poses particular difficulties. Where it is out of sequence, my corrections are supplied in square brackets. Near the end of gathering 8 there are numerous mistakes in the pagination and several failed attempts at correction. The first column of Table 1.2, inserted below, indicates the proposed order of operations. Fol. 60r is labelled 118 when it should be 119 and the verso of the same folio is labelled 122 when it should be 120. The number 118 is not just wrong but impossible. Recto pages of any bifolia must carry odd numbers. The paginator must not have been aware of this, since he or she persisted in counting from 118 at first (probably before subsequently going back and labeling fol. 60v 122). Fol. 60v was first labeled 121 and foll 61v, 123. The paginator then switched to notating recto pages, marking fol. 62r as 124, 63r as 126 and 63v as 127 for good measure. Between fols. 61 and 62, the paginator skipped over two numbers, as if there were an additional folio here that is now missing. At folio 63v, the paginator finally realized the impossibility of odd verso pages and erased and corrected the mistake. Presumably, he or she first counted all the way back to fol. 60v, mistakenly treating fol. 63v as 128. This is how fol. 60v is now labelled as 122 despite its recto being labeled 118. The following page is labelled 123, still in sequence, but the next (fol. 61v) had already been labeled as 121. The paginator, knowing the marks had fallen behind by one number, corrects this to 122, at last the correct numbering. The paginator now must have continued counting *forward* and changed the markings on fols. 63r–v to be correct, despite having been two numbers ahead when first writing



Table 9.2: Mistakes in Pagination, fols. 61–2

Order of Insertion	Pagination	fol. number
1	112	56v
	[113]	57r
	[114]	57v
2	116	58r
	[116]	58v
	[117]	59r
	[118]	59v
3	118	60r
8	122	60v
9	123	61r
4	<121>	61v
10	122	
5	124	62r
		62v
6/11	12<6>5	63r
7	<127>	63v
12	126	
	[127]	64r
	[128]	64v
	[129]	65r
13	130	65v

Note: [My insertion] <paginator's erasure>

them in. The paginator must have realized this, because the pagination on fols. 60v, 61v, 63r, and 63v has been corrected and a new number was added to 61r. From this point, there are few page markings and the few that there are frequently incorrect. Some pages may have stuck together, since page 136 is marked on fol. 71r (followed by 142 on fol. 71v). After fol. 118v (page 236), the pagination stops entirely.

### 3 Gathering Signatures

As seen in Table 1.1 column 2, the gathering signatures do not accurately reflect the gathering structure of  $V^2$  (represented in column 1). The signatures were thus likely inserted after binding, a fact also evident from the way they are corrected. They become confused in gatherings 17 through 21: fol. 132–143 are labelled as *b i* to *b xii*. Initially, fols. 141–143 were labeled as *c i*, *c ii*, and *c iii*. This was then amended to be a continuation of the previous gathering. The amendments stop here, and fols. 144 and 145 are labeled as *c iiiii* and *c v*. Gathering 22 at least is correct: fols. 146–150 are labelled as *D i*, *d ii*, *d iii*, *d iiiii*, and *d v*. Each is labelled consistently according to the same format, the gathering letter repeated each time and followed by minuscule roman numerals up to *iiii*.

The palaeographic analysis of the gathering signature hand is necessarily limited, but offers some information. There are certain markers that place this script far afield from that of the two text scribes: the use of single-compartment **a**, and the appearance (the only instance in the manuscript) of a **g** formed with the top compartment closed with a horizontal line, a type of **g** Albert Derolez catalogues and associates with later cursive influences.<sup>579</sup>

### 4 Ruling Structure

$V^1$  begins with a carefully ruled template with doubled lines reinforcing the edges of the outer columns. After two gatherings, these doubled lines are abandoned and the

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<sup>579</sup> Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 89.

dimensions change slightly. The next significant change comes on folio 65r (coinciding with a scribe change), at which point the grey pencil used so far is replaced by dry-point ruling. The scribes were likely responsible for their own rulings, thus explaining why such a change coincides with the new copyist's arrival. For this Scribe B, the ruling dimensions are more variable and the two columns are not consistently the same size. This attribute characterizes the rulings of  $V^2$ , though pencil is reintroduced in lieu of dry-point. The two manuscripts contrast with respect to the conventions used in establishing page layout but no more than do the two scribes of  $V^1$ .

The number of rulings in the two fascicles is inconsistent within each fascicle. Aubrey gives two different formats for  $V^1$  and  $V^2$ . Her figures are reliable averages: for  $V^1$ , '2 columns of 34 or 35; stanzas begin at left margin', and for  $V^2$ , an increase to '2 columns of 41 or 42 lines'.<sup>580</sup> She does not offer measurements for the writing block, offering only the physical dimensions of the manuscript as a whole: '1 + 155 parchment leaves, 29 x 20 cm.'. The impression is that of two different projects of compilation, probably produced in different workshops, and definitely tailored to different ends. This has been the opinion expressed in most descriptions of  $V$ . While these averages do give a good general idea of the two portions of the manuscript, they skirt over some revealing changes within each of the two sections. The scribes of  $V^1$  rule their pages differently, albeit within the same general dimensions. There is another notable change in ruling format at fol. 17r. This inconsistency is not significant enough to justify subdividing  $V^1$  into further manuscripts. The changes within  $V^2$  suggest adaptation of its compilational project.

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<sup>580</sup> Aubrey, 'French'.

$V^2$  begins with writing blocks ruled for 35 lines each, precisely the number that  $V^1$  ultimately settles on (with some flexibility, as discussed in Chapter 1). It is only three folios in, on fol. 122v, that  $V^2$  begins to be ruled with 41–43 lines. The transition between the two parts is thus considerably smoother than we would expect from reading Aubrey’s averages. This compression of the ruled lines to fit more text into the writing-block might be explained as an attempt to balance appearance with economy. The ruler has given a more stately appearance to the opening of the collection, left more leeway for correction and for decoration (which, as Segre, Epstein, and Aubrey have noted, was never supplied).<sup>581</sup>

## 5 Transcription of Marriage Register, fol. 119v

Le mercredi avant la tous sains xxix<sup>e</sup> jour d’ottobre l’an mil cccc Vingt *et* sept  
 | furent donnez Raoulet Berthelot et Perrine de fougerays fille de Sirez  
 guillaume de Fougerays et anne la [...]sse sa fl et le (xi) lundi xvii | jour de  
 novembre euss furent espousez en l’eglise de saint pere | pulier de tours et les  
 donna messire martin de la sv[?]ice et les | espousa et dist la messe messire  
 guy lecoq et avoit la di | perrine pres de xiiii ans R Berthelot

## 6 Reconstruction of $V^2$

### 6.1 Transcription of Gathering Transitions in $V^2$

#### a) Lacunae

A section defending the courtliness, piety, and generosity of Alexander of Macedon begins on folio 132r column b and appears just to be coming to a close by the end of that folio when it is interrupted by the middle of a different section on the application of the rod to stubborn youths.

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<sup>581</sup> Segre, *Li Bestiaires*, p. XLIV, Epstein, *Prions*, p. 7, Aubrey, ‘French’.

fol. 132v col. b–fol. 133r col. a

Donc ali - | xandre en plorant de pitié s'en fouï *que* | il ne se meust *et* se parti  
de lui *et* la fu il | *et* loiaux *et* cortois *quant* il passa *par* les | deserz a tout son  
ost *et* l'en li aporta | tant *con* l'en pout trover d'eue pour | soif ardant  
estanchier . Ne onques | n'en vout bonne puis que li autre | n'en avoient ainz  
dist *qu'il* seroit *par* contri - | ers de leur mesaige *et* mult i a des au- | tres fez  
qui demoustrent ses bones | tesches dont granz ennuiz seroit dou [fol. 133r —  
Lacuna] [peu?]ples cremetonneus *et* moustrent bel | *commencement* *comment*  
moustrer *et* en- | seignier *par* signes *et* *par* paroles *quant* il | issent hors de  
ruile . Lors doit l'en | ouvrer de menaces *et* *quant* il estou - | vient de verges .  
Les enfanz *qui* sont durs *et* roesdes *convient* amollier *par* verges . non *par*  
mains ne *par* autre chose . | Car la verge lor *est* propre *et* *est* la verge | souple  
*et* sanz peril les assouploie Au - | cuns en *est* des enfanz *qui* sont gros de cuer |  
*et* muet a aucuns de nature [etc. ...]

fol. 133v col. b–fol. 134r col. a

Not only is the beginning of fol. 134 a non-sequitur to the sentence at the end of fol.

133v, as will shortly be demonstrated, it follows sensibly after fol. 139v.

D'icestui s'il est tes amis | ne te savons donner *conseil* . fors que tant | vaut  
mielx pour trover honor se tu | faire le puez *que* il demeure en ta *prison* [fol.  
134r — ] nent a *bien* *et* a profit tout soies tu *grant* | sires .

fol. 134rv–fol. 135r

As in the previous example, fol. 135 is a non-sequitur to the end of fol. 134. It follows  
more sensibly after fol. 133v.

Pou se *connoist* a | estre loiax *que* onques n'ot {q'onques n'ot} | espace de ne  
aisement de fere mauvés | tret ou aucune desloiauté . Et ein- | sis puez entendre  
de chascunne des | autres tesches . Donques a ce *que* tu te | *connoisses* avec ce  
regarde *que* il te *con-* | vient *que* tu soies mis en essai *et* en [fol. 135r] plus  
qu'en l'autrie . Il est assez de *gent* | qui pas ne pueent duire neïs se fere | le  
savoient ne leur enfanz ne leur | amis joenes *pour* ce *que* il sont lointains |  
d'eus .

fol. 139v–fol. 140r

Celes <menors> (pluseurs) | de tres menors *emprises* ne vien - [fol. 140r] tu folie fez *non* pas a escient tu n'*en* doiz | pas blasmer ta *conscience* parce se ele a- | vant ne le tamentut [t'avien tut?] . Car ele ne *connoi-* | ist en fet fors *par* l'endement [etc....]

b) Corrected ordering:

fol. 133v col. b–135r col. a

Fol. 135r continues the discussion of influencing children and young friends from fol.

133v:

D'icestui s'il est tes amis | ne te savons *donner conseil* . fors que tant | vaut mielx pour trover honor se tu | faire le puez *que* il demeure en ta *prison* [fol. 135r] plus qu'en l'autrie . Il est assez de *gent* | qui pas ne pueent duire neïs se fere | le savoient ne leur enfanz ne leur | amis joenes *pour* ce *que* il sont lointains | d'eus .

As demonstrated, fol. 140 does not follow on from the text of fol. 139, nor does the text of fol. 134 follow on from that of fol. 133. The structure of the text (divided by missing illuminations into discussions of different conditions in life) clarifies that fol. 134 in fact continues the text of fol. 139v. Thus the third state, according to age, directly follows the second state, according to fortune.

fol. 139v col. b–134r col. a

[S]Egondement | tu doiz prendre garde | en *quel* estat tu iés selonc for- | tune [...]

Car fortune *convient* *que* nos aions dit *que* | sa roe soit lente toz jorz tornoie *et* | moine aucune fiz le plus haut | au descendre *et* qui plus trop est gri- | ef au soudainement trebuchier *et* te- | le foiz avient entre les autres *quant* | li cruels sengliers se si liens fu espo- | iez dou noble veneor frere de l'estan- | dart de mult oisel . Celes <menors> (pluseurs) | de tres menors *emprises* ne vien - [fol. 134r] nent a *bien* *et* a profit tout soies tu *grant* | sires . danter te doiz *et* souploier *et* | ouvrir *par* *grant* discrecion . *par* ce tes grei- | gnors *emprises* ne soient de leur sui- | te . Se tu es infortunez [etc....]

fol. 134r col. b [...] Au tierz estat *qui* est | selonc aage doiz tu | *bien* prendre garde | [etc.]

c) Mistakes in Foliation

The erased foliation does not match what we would expect from someone counting pages from the beginning of  $V^2$ . The fascicle extends from fol. 120 to fol. 155, thus 36 folios in all. The first folio of  $V^1$  should then be 36 according to this numbering. It is odd, then, that the foliation has reached viii only at present fol. 133 and arrives at xxx only by the present folio 6. The first signs of this foliation appear at fol. 126 with what is apparently a roman numeral II, this time further down the page. This numbering does align with fol. 133's marking as viii, requiring a skip of a number of pages, implying a reordering. Fol. 135 is then marked as vi and 136 as ix demonstrating there must have been a different ordering, presumably one in which individual folios were swapped with each other. Fol. 134, marked xiiii, must have been inserted after the gathering that ends on fol. 139, which would be correct from a textual standpoint. More text must have followed before fol. 140, which, even if it is on the same topic, does not grammatically follow on from any of the pages earlier in the treatise. However, the correct ordering of the text in  $V^2$  still does not perfectly match the foliation. The next time the foliation is remotely legible is on fol. 146r, where the foliator has written xv. Thus, as far as he or she was concerned, only two folios intervened between fols. 139 and 146 instead of the current six. The fact that the early foliation skips fols. 120–124 and fols. 140–145 explains how the beginning of the manuscript as currently arranged would be folio xxv by this original numbering (see column six of Table 9.1).

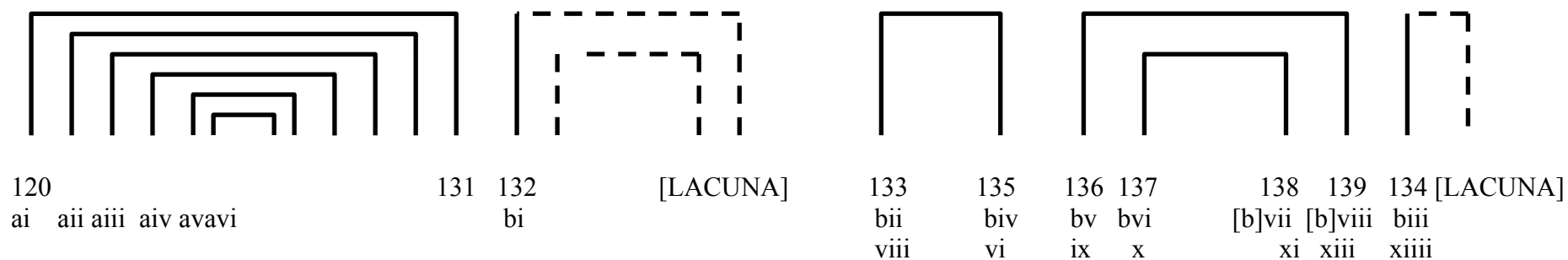
But how in turn do we explain why the numbering skips ahead? Plausibly, the foliator had access only to certain gatherings at the time of the foliation. The unusual gathering structure of fols. 140–145 reinforces this hypothesis. The gathering structure and foliation combine to suggest that either individual feuillets and a bifolio or a complete binion were inserted between 139 and 146. Thus construction and compilation were at odds with each other: the first of these inserts, fol. 140, functions as the close of a prose work and bears an explicit.

Here the foliation indicates that two leaves, including fol. 133, should intervene between fols. 135 and 136. There is a gathering break here, however it appears to have been well co-ordinated in the current binding. There is a maniculum at the base of 135v and a matching one at the head of 136r. The text is sensible as it stands and the foliation must be incorrect. Since fols. 133 and 135 together form a bifolio, the only way 135 could have preceded 133 is if the bifolio had been folded the other way.

fol. 135v–fol. 136r (mislabelled as *vi*, *ix*)

Car pou en trouve- | ras ou mil de ceus *qui* mal aient fet | qu'il ne l'aient  
*conpere* en la fin . Et | se tu ne velz vivre la maniere des | anciennes oevres .  
 pour ce *que par aven* - | ture qu'il est avis que les choses | qui ore sont *et* li  
 pueple qui ore | est sont d'autre afaire *qui* ne furent [fol. 136r] jadis . Encore  
 disons nos *que* se tu | sez des choses *qui* jadis furent [etc....]





Explicit 141r: Bestiaire d'amour<sup>582</sup>

148r: Collection of *Chansons pieuses*

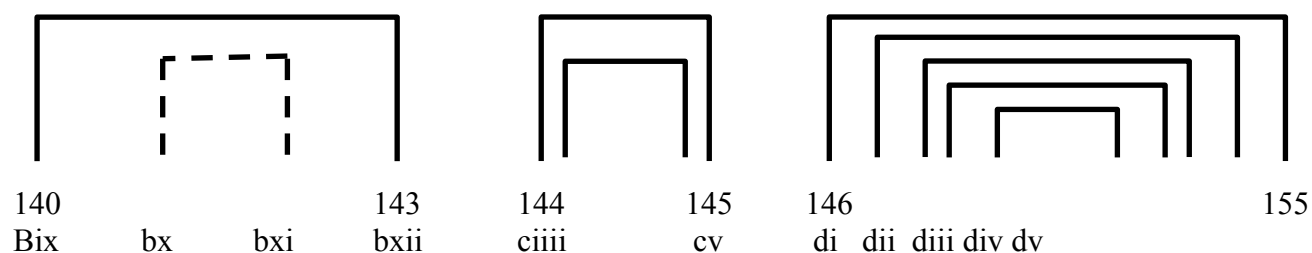


Figure 9.1 Proposed Reconstruction of Gatherings in  $V^2$

<sup>582</sup> The text at all page-breaks within the *Bestiaire d'amours* matches that in Bianciotto, *Bestiaire*, edited from MS *A* of the *Bestiaire* (fr. 25566 = Trouv $\mathcal{W}$ ).

## 7 Post-Production Decoration

Several final traces in *V* may be of interest to art historians: these are certain doodles that seem to attempt to imitate the original decoration. Some of these are fairly inobtrusive, poor-quality marginal attempts to duplicate the geometric pen drawings that occasionally conclude final staves (the first appears on folio 19r column b, the last on 119r, though the religious song section does contain much rougher versions of the same principle). The inelegant imitations are found on folio 87v and 96v, both times in the center margin. Another artistic endeavour appears on folio 105r, more striking because a consummate hand has first inserted an unexpected decoration, the unframed head of a monarch at the top of the central margin (see Chapter 2, section 3.4). The four other attempts, both further down the page and in the right-hand margin, are much less successful. Here again there is a copy of the geometric pillar as well. Are these signs that the blank areas of parchment in *V'* were repurposed for impromptu drawing lessons? Or the thoughts of a distracted reader? In either case, dating them with any certainty would surely be impossible.

## Appendix B

### Tables of Incipits and Concordances

The following table compares the first two gatherings in *V* to their concordances, noting deviations in pitch, transpositions, and the clefs used in *V* compared to *K* and *N* (*Mt* and *X* frequently agree as well). Transposition is given as the number of pitches transposed in *V* with the level of transposition in parentheses, e.g. three notes transposed up by fourth would be 3 (+4) or two notes down by third would be 2 (-3). An asterisk in this table, as in Table 2.2, indicates songs with unique melodies in *V* (only one, song 34, is included here for contrast). In the event that there are divergent musical readings in other manuscripts, unique melodies or melodies shared between a minority manuscripts will be labeled by the number of the song, followed by a point and then the siglum of the alphabetically first manuscript containing them, e.g. both *Z* and *a* witness melody 32.a as opposed to the concordant sources for *V*'s melody 32. Three songs (34, 52, and 53) with more significant variation from *KNPX* are included here for reference

Table 10.1 Concordances and Variants in  $V^I$  Gatherings 1–2

No.	Name	Fol. no.	RS no.	Concording MSS	Pitch Variants from <i>KN</i>	Transpositions from <i>KN</i>	Clef in $V$	Clef in <i>KN</i>
1.	<i>Amor me fet</i>	1r	1268	<i>KNX</i> , <i>M</i> , <i>O</i>	2		F3/C4	C4
2.	<i>Seigneur sachiez</i>	1v	6	<i>KNX</i> <i>M</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>T</i>	2		C3/C4	C3
3.	<i>J'aloie l'autrier errant</i>	2r	342	<i>KNX</i> <i>M</i> , <i>O</i>	1		C3	C3
4.	<i>En chantant vueil</i>	2r	1397	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i> , <i>Z</i>			C4/C5	C3/C4
5.	<i>L'autre nuit</i>	2v	339	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i> , <i>Z</i>	4		C4/C5	C4
6.	<i>Dame ceste vostre</i>	3r	1516	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i>	5		C4/C5	C4
7.	<i>Contre le tenz</i>	3v	1620	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i>			F3/F4	K: F3 N: F3/F4
8.	<i>Pour froidure</i>	4r	1865	<i>KNX</i> <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i>	14		C5	C4
9.	<i>Je ne puis pas</i>	4r	1800	<i>KNX</i> <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>a</i> (9.a)	3	3 (-7)	C3/C2	C3/C2/C1
10.	<i>Pour se se damer</i>	4v	582	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>a</i>	14		F3/C4/ C5	F3/C4
11.	<i>Pour conforter</i>	5v	19	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>T</i> , <i>Z</i>	2		C5	C3/C4
12.	<i>A enuis sent mal</i>	5v	1521	<i>KNX</i> , <i>M</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>Z</i> , <i>a</i> (12.a)	2	11(-3), 4(+3), 3(-3) 5(-3)	C2/C4/ C3	C2/C3/C1
13.	<i>De ma dame souvenir</i>	6r	1467	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>Z</i>	4	3 (+2)	C5/F3	C4/F3
14.	<i>Chanson ferai que</i>	6v	1596	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i>	6		C5/C4/ F3	C4/F3
15.	<i>Tout autresi</i>	7r	903	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>Z</i>	2		C4/C2/ C3	C3/C2
16.	<i>Nus hom ne puet</i>	7v	884	<i>KNX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i>	1	2 (-3)	C4/C3	C3
17.	<i>Douce dame tout autre</i>	8r	714	<i>KX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>Z</i>	5	4 (-3)	C4/C5	C4
18.	<i>Une chanson encor</i>	8v	2126	<i>KX</i> <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i>	4	7 (-3)	C4	C4
19.	<i>De grant joie me sui</i>	9r	2126	<i>KX</i> <i>Mt</i> , <i>T</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i>	3		C4/C5	C4
20.	<i>Je no ne voi</i>	9v	315	<i>KX</i> <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>T</i> , <i>a</i> <i>R</i> (20.R)	2	4 (-3)	C4	C3/C4
21.	<i>Pour mau tens</i>	10r	523	<i>KX</i> , <i>Mt</i> , <i>O</i> , <i>R</i>	7		C4/C5	C4
22.	<i>De nouviau</i>	10r	808	<i>KX</i>	3 and	3 (+3)	C4/C5	C4

	<i>mestuet</i>			<i>Mt, O</i>	T(+3)x3			
23.	<i>Li douz pensers</i>	10v	1469	<i>KX Mt, O, a R(23.R)</i>	4	5 (+3), 5(-3)	C5/C3/ C4	C4/C2/C 3
24.	<i>De touz maux</i>	11r	275	<i>KX Mt, O, Z</i>	0		C4/C3	C4/C3
25.	<i>Chanter mesteut</i>	11v	1476	<i>KX, Mt, O, R, Z</i>	3 and T(-3) x17	17(-3)	C4	C3
26.	<i>Li rosignol chante</i>	12r	360	<i>KX, Mt, R(1) B, F, O R(26.R)</i>	3 and T(+3)x1 T(-3)x5	1(+3), 5(-3)	C2/C3	C2/C3
27.	<i>Comencerai a fere un lai</i>	12r	73a/84	<i>M, O</i>	N/A	N/A	C3–C5	N/A
28.	<i>Empereres ne rois</i>	13r	1811	<i>KX B, Mt, O, R</i>	T(-3)x2 T(-2)x2 T(-3)x5	2(-3), 2(-2), 5(-3)	C4/C3	C3
29.	<i>Au tens plein</i>	13v	1152	<i>KX Mt, O, R</i>	15		C4/C3/ C2	C3/C2/C 4
30.	<i>Tout autresi con lente</i>	14r	1479	<i>KX B, Mt, O R(30.R)</i>	1	16 (-3)	C3	C3/C2
31.	<i>Mauves arbre</i>	14v	1393	<i>KX B, Mt, O, R R(31.R)</i>	3	11(-3), 7(-3), 2(-3)	C2/C3	C2/C1
32.	<i>Aussi conme unicorne sui</i>	15r	2075	<i>KX M, O, R Z(32.a), a(32.a)</i>	5	3 (-2), 4(-3), 1(- 2)	C4/C5	C4
33.	<i>De grant travail</i>	15v	1843	<i>KX O(33.O)</i>	X: 0 K: 1	KN: 5(+3)	C4/C5	C4
34.	<i>Lautrierpar la matinee</i>	16r	529	<i>KX B, Mt,</i>	3	2(-2)	C4	C3
35.	<i>Du tres douz non</i>	16v	1181	<i>KX Mt, O</i>	6		C4	C3/C4 (X and Mt have C4 througho ut)
36.*	<i>Les douces dolours</i>	17r	662	<i>KX Mt, O</i>	35	5(+3), 5(+5), 5(-2)	C3/C4	C4
52.	<i>Tant ai amours</i>	24r	711	<i>KNPX, Mt a, A, F, O, R, Z</i>	39	91 (-5)	F3/C5/ C4	C2/C3
53.	<i>Coutume est bien</i>	24v	1880	<i>KNPX, O, Mt, M, R, B, a</i>	10	7 (-3), 6 (+2), 4 (+2)	C3/C4/ C2	C3/C2

Table 10.2 Incipits, Concordances, and Isolated Melodies in  $V^l$ 

No.	Incipit	folio	RS no.	MSS with Music
1.	<i>Amor me fet commencer</i>	1r	1268	<i>KNX, M, O</i>
2.	<i>Seigneur sachiez qui or ne s'en ira</i>	1v	6	<i>KNXM, O, T</i>
3.	<i>J'aloie l'autrier errant</i>	2r	342	<i>KNX, M, O</i>
4.	<i>En chantant vueil ma dolour descouvrir</i>	2r	1397	<i>KNX, Mt, O, R, Z</i>
5.	<i>L'autre nuit en mon dormant</i>	2v	339	<i>KNX, Mt, O, R, Z</i>
6.	<i>Dame ceste vostre finz amis</i>	3r	1516	<i>KNX, Mt, O</i>
7.	<i>Contre le tenz qui devise</i>	3v	1620	<i>KNX, Mt, O</i>
8.	<i>Pour froidure ne por yver felon</i>	4r	1865	<i>KNX, Mt, O</i>
9.	<i>Je ne puis pas bien metre en nonchaloir</i>	4r	1800	<i>KNX, Mt, O, a(9.a)</i>
10.	<i>Pour se se damer me dueil</i>	4v	582	<i>KNX, Mt, O, a</i>
11.	<i>Pour conforter mon corage</i>	5v	19	<i>KNX, Mt, O, T, Z</i>
12.	<i>A enuis sent mal qui ne la apriz</i>	5v	1521	<i>KNX, M, O, Z, a(12.a)</i>
13.	<i>De ma dame souvenir</i>	6r	1467	<i>KNX, Mt, O, Z</i>
14.	<i>Chanson ferai que talens m'en est priz</i>	6v	1596	<i>KNX, Mt, O, R</i>
15.	<i>Tout autresi con fraint nois et yvers</i>	7r	903	<i>KNX, Mt, O, Z</i>
16.	<i>Nus hom ne puet bon ami reconforter</i>	7v	884	<i>KNX, Mt, O, R</i>
17.	<i>Douce dame tout autre pensement</i>	8r	714	<i>KX, Mt, O, Z</i>
18.	<i>Une chanson encor vueil</i>	8v	2126	<i>KX, Mt, O, R</i>
19.	<i>De grant joie me sui touz esmeüz</i>	9r	2126	<i>KX, Mt, T, O, R</i>
20.	<i>Je no ne voi pas nului qui se chant</i>	9v	315	<i>KX, Mt, O, T, a, R(20.R)</i>
21.	<i>Pour mau tens ne pour gelee</i>	10r	523	<i>KX, Mt, O, R</i>
22.	<i>De nouviau m'estuet chanter</i>	10r	808	<i>KX, Mt, O</i>
23.	<i>Li douz penssers et li douz souvenirs</i>	10v	1469	<i>KX, Mt, O, a, R(23.R)</i>
24.	<i>De touz maux n'est nus plesanz</i>	11r	275	<i>KX, Mt, O, Z</i>
25.	<i>Chanter m'esteut que ne m'en puis tenir</i>	11v	1476	<i>KX, Mt, O, R, Z</i>
26.	<i>Li rosignos chante tant</i>	12r	360	<i>KX, Mt, R(1) B, F, O, R(2)(26.R)</i>
27.	<i>Comencerai/ a fere un lai</i>	12r	73a/84	<i>M, O</i>
28.	<i>Empereres ne rois n'ont nul pooir</i>	13r	1811	<i>KX, B, Mt, O, R</i>
29.	<i>Au tens plain de felonnie</i>	13v	1152	<i>KX, Mt, O, R</i>
30.	<i>Tout autresi con lente fet venir</i>	14r	1479	<i>KX, B, Mt, O, R(30.R)</i>
31.	<i>Mauvés arbre ne puet florir</i>	14v	1393	<i>KX B, Mt, O, R(1)R(2)(31.R)</i>
32.	<i>Aussi comme unicorne sui</i>	15r	2075	<i>KX, M, O, R Z(32.a), a(32.a)</i>
33.	<i>De grant travail et de petit exploit</i>	15v	1843	<i>KX, O(33.O)</i>
34.	<i>L'autrier par la matinee</i>	16r	529	<i>KX, B, Mt,</i>
35.	<i>Du [sic] tres douz non a la virge marie</i>	16v	1181	<i>KX, Mt, O</i>
36.*	<i>Les douces dolours et li mal plesant</i>	17r	662	<i>KX, Mt, O</i>
37*	<i>Dame merci une rienz vous demant</i>	17r	335	<i>KX, Mt, O, A, a,</i>
38.*	<i>Diex est ainsy comme li pellicanz</i>	17v	274	<i>KX, Mt, O</i>
39.*	<i>Une douleur en ossée</i>	18r	510	<i>KX, Mt, O; R(39.R)</i>
40.*	<i>De chanter ne me puis tenir</i>	18v	1475	<i>KX, Mt, O; R(40.R)</i>
41.*	<i>Phelippe je vous demant/ (dui ami)</i>	19r	334	<i>KX, Mt, O; R(41.R)</i>

42.*	<i>Phelippe je vous demant/ (que est deuenue)</i>	19v	333	<i>KX, Mt, O</i>
43.*	<i>Par dieu sire de champagne et de brie</i>	20r	1111	<i>KX, Mt, O</i>
44.*	<i>Qvens je vous part .i. geu par aatie</i>	20v	1097	<i>KX, D, Mt, O; R(44.R)</i>
45.*	<i>Sire ne me celez mie</i>	21r	1185	<i>KX, Mt, O; A(45.V)</i>
46.*	<i>Robert veez de perron</i>	21v	1878	<i>KNX, M, O, R</i>
47.*	<i>Bons rois tibaut sire conseiliez moi</i>	21v	1666	<i>KNX, M, O, A, a</i>
48.*	<i>Sire loez moi a choisir</i>	22r	1393	<i>KNX, M, O</i>
49.*	<i>Rois tibaut sire en chantant responnez</i>	22v	943	<i>KNX, Mt, O</i>
50.*	<i>Qvant fine amour me prie que ie chant</i>	23r	306	<i>KNX, O; U</i>
51.*	<i>Je nos chanter trop tart ne trop souvent</i>	23v	733	<i>KPX, Mt, O, T</i>
52.	<i>Tant ai amours servie longuement</i>	24r	711	<i>KNPX, Mt, B, F, A(52.A), a, R</i>
53.	<i>Coustume est bien quant on tient un prison</i>	24v	1880	<i>KNPX, M, Mt, O, B, a, R</i>
54.	<i>De jeune amour vient seance et biauté</i>	25r	407	<i>KNPX, M, Mt, O, T, B, a, R, Z</i>
55.	<i>Je me cuidoie partir</i>	25v	1440	<i>KNPX, M, Mt, O, B, R, V(2)</i>
56.	<i>Qui plus aime plus endure</i>	25v	2095	<i>KNX, M, O, (transposed by step) V(2) (same pitch)</i>
57.	<i>Tuit mi desir et tuit mi grief torment</i>	26r	741 = 991	<i>KNPX, M, Mt, O, T, B, a, R</i>
58.*	<i>Dame l'en dist que l'en meurt</i>	26v	1727	<i>KNX, Mt, O</i>
59.*	<i>Fueille ne flours ne vaut rien en chantant</i>	27r	324	<i>KNX (transposed by step); R(59.V); Mt(59.Mt), O(59.Mt), a(59.Mt)</i>
60.	<i>Au renouuel de la douçor d'esté</i>	27v	437	<i>KNPX, L, U, M, O, R</i>
61.*	<i>Cil qui d'amours me conseille</i>	28r	565/ 567	<i>KNPX, L, U, M, O; R(61.V — transposed by fifth)</i>
62.*	<i>Contre tanz que voi frimer</i>	28r	857/ 2027	<i>KNP(1)P(2)X, L, M, O</i>
63.*	<i>Chanter m'esteut ireement helaz</i>	28v	687	<i>KNPX, L</i>
64.	<i>D'amours qui ma tolu et moi na foi</i>	29r	1664	<i>KNP(1)P(2)X, L, T, a; R(64.R)</i>
65.*	<i>De bien amer grant joie a tent</i>	29v	643	<i>KNPX, U, M, O, T</i>
66.*	<i>Avril ne mai froidure ne let tenz</i>	30r	283	<i>KNPX, L, T</i>
67.*	<i>J'ai oublié poine et trauaus</i>	30v	389	<i>KNPX, L, O, a</i>
68.*	<i>Je ai esté lonc tenz hors du paiz</i>	30v	1575	<i>KNPX, L, T; R(68.R); M(68.M — later hand)</i>
69.*	<i>Ire d'amours qui en mon cuer repere</i>	31r	171	<i>KNPX, L, O</i>
70.*	<i>N'est pas a soi qui aime corieument</i>	31v	653	<i>KNPX, L; M(70.M), O(70.M)</i>
71.*	<i>Grant pechie fet qui de chanter me proie</i>	32r	1199/ 1751	<i>KNPX, L, T</i>
72.	<i>Mainz ai joie que ie ne sueil</i>	32v	998	<i>KNPX, L, T</i>
73. <sup>583</sup>	<i>Ne mi sont pas achoison</i>	33r	787	<i>KNPX, L, O, a</i>
74.* <sup>584</sup>	<i>Ne puis faillir a bonne chanson fere</i>	33v	160	<i>KNPX, L</i>

<sup>583</sup> No melody in *V*

<sup>584</sup> Fragmentary melody, vv. 1–4 are missing.

75.*	<i>Iriez destroiz et pensiz chanterai</i>	33v	1590	KNPX, L, O; R(75.R)
76.*	<i>Li plus desconfortez du mont</i>	34r	1918	KNPX, U, L, T, a; A(76.A)
77.	<i>Les oisseillons de mon pais</i>	34v	15	KNPX, L, M, T; R
78.*	<i>Quant bonne dame et fine amour me prie</i>	34v	1198	KLNPX, M, T; O
79.	<i>Quant voi paroir la fueille en la ramee</i>	35r	550	KNPX, L, M, O, T
80.	<i>A l'entrant du douz termine</i>	35v	1387	KNPXL, U, M, O, T
81.	<i>Encor a si grant puissance</i>	36r	242	KNPX, L, M, O, T, a
82.*	<i>Bien ait l'amour dont l'en cuide avoir</i>	36r	1724	KNPX, L
83.*	<i>Quant ie voi l'erbe reprendre</i>	36v	633	KLNPX, O
84.*	<i>De bonne amour et de loial amie</i>	37r	1102	KNX, L, F, U, M, O, a; R(84.R)
85.	<i>Li pluseur ont d'amours chante</i>	37v	413	KNX, M, O, T, a; R(85.R)
86.*	<i>Tant m'a mené forte de seigneurage</i>	38r	42	KNX, L, M, O; T(86.V)
87.	<i>En douz tenz et en bonne heure</i>	38v	1011	KLNX, O; M, T, a
88.*	<i>Quant voi la flour boutonure</i>	39r	772	KNX, L; O(88.O); M(88.M), T(88.M)
89.*	<i>Quant je voi la noif remise</i>	39r	1638	KNX, L, O; M(89.M)
90.	<i>Chanter me plect qui de joie est norriz</i>	39v	1572	KNX, L, M; O
91.*	<i>Quant noif et gel et froidure remaid</i>	40r	2099	KNX, L, O; M(91.M)
92.*	<i>Seurpriz damours et plaine dire</i>	40v	1501	KNX, L, O
93.*	<i>Je ne puis pas si loing soir que ma dame</i>	40v	1414	KLNX; M; O; T
94.*	<i>Quant define fueille et flor</i>	41r	1977	KLNX, O; R(94.M)
95.*	<i>Pensis d'amours vueil retraire</i>	41v	187	KNX, L, O; a(95.a); M(95.M — later hand)
96.*	<i>A la doucour de la bele seson</i>	41v	1893	KLNX, O
97.	<i>Douce dame grez et graces vous rent</i>	42r	719	KLNX, M, O, a
98.*	<i>Sanz atente de guerredon m'otroi</i>	42v	1867	KLNX, O; M
99.	<i>Élas je sui refusez</i>	43r	939	KLNX, M, T
100.	<i>Qai [sic] souuent d'amours chanté</i>	43r	412/ 414	KNX, O
101.	<i>Onques d'amours n'oi nule si grief poine</i>	43v	138	KNX, O; R(101.R)
102.*	<i>Tant me plect a estre amis</i>	44r	1515	KNX, O
103.	<i>Au nouviau tens que yvers se debrise</i>	44v	87	KNX, O, R
104.	<i>Au besoing voit on l'ami</i>	45r	1028	KNX, O, R
105.*	<i>L'autrier chevauchioie delez pariz</i>	45r	1583	KNP
106.*	<i>De chanter m'est priz corage</i>	45v	22	KNPX
107.	<i>Par amours ferai chançon</i>	46r	1860	KNPX
108.*	<i>Mout ai chanté rien ne mi puet valoir</i>	46v	1820	KNPX
109.*	<i>Chanson ferai plainz d'ire et de pesance</i>	47r	303	KNPX
110.*	<i>Je cheuauchioie l'autrier la matinee</i>	47r	527	KNPX
111.*	<i>Quant la sesons renouuele</i>	47v	614	KNPX
112.*	<i>L'autrier touz seus chevauchioie</i>	48r	1362	KNPX
113.*	<i>Tant ai d'amours qu'en chantant me fet plaindre</i>	48r	130	KNPX, O, U, a
114.	<i>Quant la sesons du douz tenz s'assëure</i>	48v	2086	KNPX, O(1), O(2), M, T, B; a; R(114.R)
115.*	<i>Quant florissent li boscage</i>	49r	14	KNPX, O, T



116.*	<i>Chascuns me semont de chanter</i>	49v	798	<i>KNPX</i>
117.*	<i>Hui matin par .i. jornant</i>	50r	293	<i>KNPX, M, T, a</i>
118.*	<i>Bien voi que ne puis guerir</i>	50r	1433/ 1418	<i>KNPX</i>
119.*	<i>Destrete de bien amer</i>	50v	767	<i>KN</i>
120.	<i>Quant avril et li biaux estez</i>	51r	929	Unicum
121.*	<i>Senz et reson et mesure</i>	51v	2106	<i>KN; R(121.R)</i>
122.	<i>Quant plus me voi por bonne amour grever</i>	52r	859	Unicum
123.	<i>La volenté est isnele</i>	52v	595	Unicum
124.	<i>Tout autresi con descent la rousee</i>	52v	554	Unicum (contrafactum using <i>V</i> 's melody for 130 and 226, below)
125.	<i>Au tens que noif pluie et gelee</i>	53r	515	Unicum
126.	<i>Bonne amour veut touzjorz con demaint joie</i>	54r	1692	Unicum
127.	<i>Aussi con l'eschafëure</i>	54v	2096	Unicum (contrafactum using <i>V</i> 's melody for 296, below)
128.	<i>Quant voi l'iver departir</i>	55r	1395	Unicum
129.	<i>Quant voi venir le très douz tenz d'esté</i>	55r	450	Unicum
130.	<i>Ne finerai tant que j'aurai trouvée</i>	55v	557	Unicum (contrafactum using <i>V</i> 's melody for 226, below and 124 above)
131.	<i>Je ne sui pas esbahiz pour yver</i>	56r	1538	<i>R; O</i>
132.	<i>Or me respondez amours</i>	56v	2029	Unicum
133.	<i>L'autrier contre le tenz pascor</i>	57r	2009	Unicum
134.	<i>Loiau desir et pensee jolie</i>	57r	1172	<i>O, R, a</i>
135.	<i>Je n'ai loisir d'assez penser</i>	57v	879	<i>B, R</i>
136.	<i>Aymanz finz et vraiz</i>	58r	199	<i>KNP, B, M, O, R</i>
137.	<i>Quant l'aube espine florit</i>	58r	1647	<i>KNP, T</i>
138.*	<i>Desconfortez et de joie partiz</i>	58v	1073	<i>KN, M, O, T; R(138.V — fifth transposition)</i>
139.	<i>Pluseurs genz ont chanté</i>	59r	1023	Unicum
140.	<i>Se je ai esté lonc tenz en romenie</i>	59v	1204	<i>N</i>
141.	<i>Quant la seson desirree</i>	60r	505	<i>O</i> (see Thomson on motet version in Tu21v)
142.	<i>Sanz guerredon ne puet amanz amer</i>	60r	260	Unicum
143.	<i>Ja quier amours pour la grande merite</i>	60v	1651	Unicum
144.	<i>Ja de chanter ne me fust talenz priz</i>	61r	1605	Unicum; text-only version in <i>I</i> (GB-Ob Douce 308)
145.	<i>Amours est et male et bonne</i>	61v	1904	Unicum
146.	<i>On me repret d'amours qui me mestroie</i>	62r	1175	<i>a; R(146.R)</i>
147.	<i>Après aoust que fueille de bosquet</i>	62r	959	Unicum
148.	<i>Chant d'oisel ne pré flori</i>	62v	1043	Unicum
149.	<i>Anui et dure pesance</i>	63r	234	Unicum
150.	<i>De jolie entencion</i>	63r	1864	Unicum
151.	<i>Au commencer de la seson florie</i>	63v	1157	Unicum
152.	<i>Se ma dame ne refrain son courage</i>	64r	24	Unicum
153.	<i>Qui trop haut monte et qui se desmesure</i>	64r	2093	Unicum
154.	<i>Pour folie me vois esbaissant</i>	64v	343	Unicum
155.	<i>En reprouver ai souvent oï dire</i>	65r	1493	Unicum
156.	<i>Onques més ne vi amant</i>	65r	299	Unicum

157.	<i>S'amours m'eüst jugié a droit</i>	65v	1841	Unicum
158.*	<i>Bele dame me prie de chanter</i>	66r	790	KPX, L
159.*	<i>Porce d'amours mi destraint et mestroie</i>	66r	1745	KNX
160.*	<i>Ferm et entier sanz fausser et sanz faindre</i>	66v	129	KNX
161.*	<i>Tant est amours puissanz que que nus die</i>	67r	1134	KNX
162.*	<i>Amours conment de cuer joli porroie</i>	67v	1747	KNX
163.	<i>Chanter me fet pour mes maus alegier</i>	68r	1251	KNX (transposed by fifth); R(163.R)
164.*	<i>Ne plus que droiz puet estre sanz reson</i>	68v	1892	KNX, O; R(164.V)
165.	<i>Cil qui chantent de fleur ne de verdure</i>	68v	2116	KNPX; R(165.R)
166.	<i>L'autrier mestoie montez</i>	69r	936	KNPX (transposed by fifth)
167.*	<i>Trop est destroiz qui est desconfortez</i>	69v	423	NPX
168.	<i>Quant li cinceins sescrie</i>	70r	1148	KNPX, R, a, Z
169.*	<i>Contre la froidour m'est talent</i>	70r	1987	KNP; M(169.M — mensural insertion)
170.	<i>James ne cuidai avoir</i>	70v	1786	KNPX; R
171.	<i>Il feroit trop bon morir</i>	70v	1428	KNPX (distant); R
172.	<i>Honor et bonne aventure</i>	71r	2088	KNP(1)P(2)X
173.*	<i>Bonne amour conseiliez moi</i>	71v	1665	KN; X
174.	<i>Chanson voeil fere de moi</i>	71v	1669	KNX
175.*	<i>Puis qu'amours dont m'otroie a chanter</i>	72r	779	KNPX
176.*	<i>Se savoient mon torment</i>	72r	742	KNPX; M(176.M)
177.	<i>Tant ai en chantant proie</i>	72v	1095	KNPX, M, O, T, U; R(177.R)
178.*	<i>Oiez pourquoi plaing et soupir</i>	73r	1465	KNX, L; M, O, T
179.*	<i>Quant l'erbe meurt et voi la fueille chaïr</i>	73r	1795	KNX, L; M, O(1), O(2); R(179.R)
180.*	<i>Tant de soulas con je ai de chanter</i>	73v	826	KNPX, M(1), M(2), O, U
181.*	<i>Qui sert de fausse priere</i>	73v	1332	KNPX, L, O
182.	<i>Haï amours con dure departie</i>	74r	1125	KNX; a; R (see Le Vot, Songs, p. 9)
183.*	<i>Commencement de douce seson bele</i>	74v	590/1328	KNPX, L, O, M, U
184.*	<i>Dame ainsi est qu'il m'en convient aler</i>	75r	757	KX, O, M; P(184.P)
185.*	<i>Li nouviaux tens et mais et violete</i>	75r	985	KPX, L, O, M, T, U, A, a; R(185.R)
186.*	<i>Mout m'est bele la douce commencaille</i>	75v	209	R(186.V); KPX, O, M, T, a; U; A(186.A)
187.*	<i>Mout ai esté longuement esbahis</i>	76r	1536	KPX, L, O, M, U
188.*	<i>Nouvele amour ou j'ai mis mon penser</i>	76v	882	T(188.V); KPX, L; a(188.a)
189.	<i>La douce vois du roussignol sauvage</i>	76v	40	KPX, M, O, a, A(189.A); T
190.*	<i>Lan que rose ne fueille</i>	77r	1009	KPX, M, O(1), O(2), T
191.	<i>Car [sic] quel forfet et par quele achoison</i>	77v	1876	KPX, U; M, O, T; R(191.R)
192.	<i>Quant li rousignos jolis</i>	77v	1559	KPX; O(1), O(2), T; RS1609, V <sup>2</sup> ; Latin contrafact: F, I-F1 29.1
193.*	<i>Tant ne me sai de ma dolor conplaindre</i>	78r	127/125	KPX
194.	<i>Merci clamans de mon fol errement</i>	78v	671/1823	R; A; KPX, M(1), M(2), O, T, a

195.*	<i>Je chantasse volentiers liement</i>	79r	700	<i>KPX, M(1), M(2), O, T, U, A, a</i>
196.	<i>S'onques nus hom pour dure departie</i>	79v	1126	<i>T; A, a; KPX, O, D; R</i>
197.	<i>A vous amours plus qu'a nul autre gent</i>	80r	679	<i>A, R, T; KPX, M; O(197.O); U(197.U)</i>
198.*	<i>Amours que porra devenir</i>	80v	1402	<i>KNPX, O, T, a</i>
199.*	<i>Chanter m'esteut si grieng morir</i>	80v	1430	<i>KNPX</i>
200.*	<i>Quan je voi esté venir</i>	81r	1477/ 1488	<i>KNPX, M, O, T</i>
201.*	<i>Chanter et renvoisier sueil</i>	81r	1001	<i>KNPX, O; Motet voice contrafact I-FI 29.1, D-W 628; Gautier de Coincy's religious contrafact F-Pn fr. 2163, F-Pn fr. 2193</i>
202.	<i>Li douz termine m'agree</i>	81v	490	<i>KNX, M, T, U (fourth transposition); R(202.R); T; Latin contrafact F-Em I.2, F-Em 39</i>
203.*	<i>Bonne amour sanz tricherie</i>	82r	1216	<i>KNPX, M, T, a</i>
204.*	<i>Amours s'onques en ma vie</i>	82r	1231	<i>KNPX; contrafact of RS? below</i>
205.*	<i>Ce fu en mai</i>	82v	94	<i>KNPX</i>
206.	<i>Nus n'a joie ne souldas</i>	83r	382	<i>KNPX; M, T, a</i>
207.*	<i>Amours n'est pas que qu'en die</i>	83r	1135	<i>KNX, a; R(207.R)</i>
208.*	<i>De joli cuer enamouré</i>	83v	430	<i>KNPX, T</i>
209.	<i>Chançonnete voeil fere et commencer</i>	84r	1267/ 1264	<i>T; KNPX; M</i>
210. <sup>585</sup>	<i>Rois de navarre et sires de vertuz</i>	84v	2063	<i>KNPX; M, T (transposed by third); R(210.R)</i>
211.*	<i>Quant je voi et fueille et flor</i>	85r	1978	<i>KNPX</i>
212.	<i>A la plus sage et a la mieux vaillant</i>	85v	363	<i>KNX; R</i>
213.	<i>Amis archier cil autre chantëour</i>	86r	1970	<i>KN</i>
214.*	<i>Chançon legiere a chanter</i>	86v	778	<i>KN</i>
215.*	<i>Chanter m'esteut pour fere contenance</i>	87r	211	<i>N</i>
216.	<i>Onques ne fui sanz amour</i>	87v	1964	<i>N</i>
217.	<i>Quant li biaux estez repaire</i>	87v	172	<i>KNX, O(1), O(2)</i>
218.*	<i>Quant voi le felon tenz finer</i>	88r	460	<i>KNX, O; R(218.V)</i>
219.*	<i>Quant je voi l'erbe amatir</i>	88v	1390	<i>KNX, O</i>
220.*	<i>Tres haute amour qui tant s'est abessie</i>	88v	1098	<i>KNX, O, M, Z, a; R(220.V)</i>
221.*	<i>Amours dont sens et cortoisie</i>	89r	1118	<i>KNX, O</i>
222.*	<i>Quant voi en la fin d'esté</i>	89v	438	<i>KNX, O</i>
223.*	<i>Onques pour esloignement</i>	90r	672	<i>KNX, O</i>
224.	<i>J'ai un joli souvenir</i>	90v	1470	<i>KNX, O, R, Z</i>
225.	<i>Li jolis mais ne la flour qui blanchioie</i>	90v	1692	<i>R, O (transposed up by step); KNX, a (down by fourth); Z</i>
226.	<i>Il ne me chaut d'esté ne de rousee</i>	91r	552	<i>R; KNX, Z, a (up by step)</i>
227.*	<i>Je ne chant pas pour verdour</i>	91v	2017	<i>KNX; R(227.R); Z</i>
228.*	<i>Quant partiz sui de prouvence</i>	92r	625	<i>KNX, Z; R(228.R)</i>
229.	<i>Lors quant je voi le buisson en verdure</i>	92v	2118	<i>KN, Z, a; O, R</i>
230.*	<i>Biau m'est du tenz de gain qui verdeoie</i>	93r	1767	<i>R(230.V); KN, O</i>
231.*	<i>Haute esperance garnie</i>	93r	1162	<i>KN</i>
232.*	<i>Elas or ai je trop dure</i>	93v	429	<i>KN</i>

<sup>585</sup> Divergent melody; first and final verses are identical to M, the rest is unrecognizable.

233.	<i>Quens d'anjo prenez de ce jeu partie</i>	94r	938	Unicum
234.*	<i>En voit souvent en chantant amenrir</i>	94v	1391/ 1409	<i>KNX, O, Z, a</i>
235.	<i>Au tens nouvel que cil oisel</i>	94v	573	<i>KNX</i>
236.	<i>L'autrier aloie pensant</i>	95r	348	Unicum
237.	<i>L'autre jour en .i. jardin</i>	95v	1322	Unicum
238.	<i>Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loy</i>	95v	1661	<i>O(1), O(2), P, R(1)(238.R), R(2)(238.R), T, W, a</i>
239.	<i>Des ore mès est reson de mon chant</i>	96r	1885	<i>F, O, R, Z</i>
240.	<i>Nus hom ne fet d'ami qu'il puet valoir</i>	96v	1821/ 1608	<i>N, A, D, O, T, a; R(240.R)</i>
241.	<i>Quant li tenz pert sa chalour</i>	96v	1969	<i>KNPX, A, M, T; R</i>
242.	<i>Liez et joliz et en amours mananz</i>	97r	269	Unicum
243.	<i>Pourquoi se plaint d'amors nus</i>	97v	2128	<i>O, P, Q, R, T, W<sup>l</sup>, W<sup>2</sup></i>
244.	<i>Bonne amour fet senz et valour doubler</i>	98r	849	Unicum
245.	<i>Aucun qui voelent leur vie</i>	98r	1222	<i>R(245.R)</i>
246.	<i>Puis qu'amours me fet amer</i>	98v	765	Unicum
247.	<i>Bonnement au commencier</i>	99r	1266	Unicum
248.	<i>Biau maintien et cortoisie</i>	99r	1114	Unicum (text only: <i>I</i> )
249.	<i>J'ai par maintes fois chanté</i>	99v	416a	Unicum
250.	<i>Amours me fet resbaudir</i>	100r	1444	Unicum
251.	<i>Joliement me demaine</i>	100r	135	Unicum
252.	<i>Ma mort ai quise quant je onques pensai</i>	100v	98	Unicum
253.	<i>Sages est cil qui d'amours est norriz</i>	101r	1571	Unicum
254.	<i>Chançon ferai que talent m'en est priz</i>	101r	1597	Unicum
255.	<i>J'ai par maintes fois chanté</i>	101v	1054a/ 416b	Unicum
256.	<i>Tant antendrai le secors de ma dame</i>	102r	2039	Unicum
257.	<i>Pour moi deduire voeil d'amours commencier</i>	102r	1265	Unicum
258.	<i>Or m'a mandé ma dame que je chant</i>	102v	305	Unicum
259.	<i>Qui plus a ferme corage</i>	103r	16	Unicum
260.	<i>Plus pensis et en esmai</i>	103r	1658	Unicum
261.	<i>Je me cuidoe partir</i>	103v	1440	<i>V(1 — number 55 above), KNPX, R(2), O, M, Mt; R(1)(261.R); a(261.a)</i>
262.	<i>Qui plus aime plus endure</i>	104r	2095	<i>V(1 — number 56 above); KNPX, M, O (transposed up by step)</i>
263.*	<i>Chanter me fet ce dont je crieng morir</i>	104r	1429	<i>KNX, A, M, T, U; a(263.a)</i>
264.*	<i>Desconfortez plainz de dolour plainz de dolour et dire</i>	104v	1498	<i>KNX; M, O, T, a</i>
265.*	<i>En chantant m'esteut conplaindre</i>	105r	126	<i>KNX, O; U(265.U)</i>
266.*	<i>Comment que longue demeure</i>	105v	1010	<i>KNX; M, O, T, U, a; R(266.R)</i>
267.*	<i>A la douçour du tenz qui reverdoie</i>	105v	1754	<i>KNPX; O; M(267.M), T(267.T)</i>
268.*	<i>Bien doit chanter qui fine amour adrece</i>	106r	482	<i>R(268.R); KNPX, M, U, a</i>
269.	<i>De mon desir ne sai mon miex eslire</i>	106v	1497	<i>KNPX; R(269.R)</i>
270.*	<i>Amours dont sui espriz</i>	107r	1545	<i>KNPX, M, O, T</i>

271.*	<i>J'aing par coustume et par us</i>	107r	2124	KNPX, M, T, Z
272.*	<i>Comment que d'amer me dueille</i>	107v	1007	KNPX, M, O, T, Z
273.*	<i>Cil qui touz les maus essaie</i>	108r	111	KNPX, M
274.*	<i>Chanter m'esteut que joie ai recouvree</i>	108r	551	KNPX
275.*	<i>Ma joie me semont</i>	108v	1924	KNPX
276.	<i>Li plus se plaint d'amours mès je n'os dire</i>	109r	1495/ 1950	KNPX, M, T, Z, a; R(276.R); (see also in V, contrafact with alternative melody above, no. 268)
277.	<i>Li joliz maus que je sent ne doit mie</i>	109r	1186	A, P, R, T, $W^1$ , $W^2$
278.	<i>Li desirs qu'ai d'achever</i>	109v	755	R(278.R)
279.	<i>Li granz desirs de deservir amie</i>	109v	1100	R
280.	<i>En chantant plaing et soupir</i>	110r	1464	O
281.	<i>Je ne chant pas sanz loial achoisson</i>	110v	1876	Unicum
282.	<i>En demande mout souvent quest amours</i>	111r	2024	P, Q, R, T, $W^1$ , $W^2$
283.	<i>Amours vostre seignourage [sic]</i>	111v	1211	M, a
284.	<i>Se je chante de guerredon avoir</i>	112r	1789	KNX, O, R, Z
285.	<i>Pour demourer en amors sanz retrere</i>	112v	185	O, a; R(285.R)
286.	<i>Tant ai amours apriz et entendu</i>	113r	2054	O
287.*	<i>Quant fleurs et glais et verdure s'esloigne</i>	113v	1779/ 2119	R(287.V — transposed down by step); KNPX, L, O, U
288.	<i>Fine amour et bonne esperance</i>	114r	221	KNPX, L, O, M, A, U
289.*	<i>Quant je plus sui en poor de ma vie</i>	114v	1227	KNX, M, O, T, U, Z, a; R(289.R)
290.	<i>Bien doit chanter qui fine amor adrece</i>	115r	482	KNPX, M, T, U, a; V(268.V); R(268.R)
291.	<i>El entrant d'esté que li tenz commence</i>	115v	620	KNX, M, O, T
292.	<i>Quant li buisson et li pré</i>	116r	470	Unicum
293.	<i>La bonne amour qui en mon cuer repere</i>	116r	170	Unicum (text only: C, U)
294.	<i>On ne porroit de mauvese reson</i>	116v	1887	Unicum (text only: U)
295.	<i>En dist que j'aing et pourcoi n'amerioie</i>	117r	1685	R(295.R)
296.	<i>Au reparier en la douce contree</i>	117v	500	P, Q, R(1), R(2), $W^1$ , $W^2$
297.	<i>Quant voi la glaie meüre</i>	118r	2107	KNPX, F, a
298.*	<i>D'amourous cuer voeil chanter</i>	118v	833	A, P, $W^1$ , $W^2$
299.	<i>Anui et desesperance</i>	118v	214	O, Z, a; R(299.R)
300.	<i>Or voi je bien qu'il souvent</i>	119r	1247	O, P, R, T, W, a
301.*	<i>En loial amour</i>	119r	1568/ 1958/ 1508	KX, Z; R(301.R)

## Appendix C

### Tables of Notational Signs

The following tables show the distribution of repeated-note ligatures within *V* by song. Forms are divided according to the number of pitches indicated over a single syllable then subdivided according to where the repeated note falls. In some instances (e.g. in the single note + ternaria column) the order of elements rarely change in which case the exceptions are indicated in footnotes.

Table 11.1 Repeated-Note Ligatures in *V*

Song		Ligature Type								folio
		Ternaria			Quaternaria					
		Descending		Ascending	Descending			Turn		
<i>V</i> no.	Raynaud- Spanke	Single note + binaria	Compound plica	Single note + binaria	Binaria+plica	Conjunct binaria	Single note+ternaria	Binaria down+up	Single note+ternaria	
1	1268					v. 11				1r
4	1397	vv. 1, 3								2r
5	339			v. 1		v. 8				2v
7	1620					v. 8				3v
8	1865					v. 8				4r
9	1800					v. 6				4r
10	996	vv. 9, 10				v. 5				4v
12	1521		vv. 4, 8 (x2)							5v
14	1596		v. 5	vv. 2, 4			vv. 6, 7 <sup>586</sup>			6v
15	903	vv. 5, 6, 8		v. 3			v. 3	v. 7		7r
16	884	vv. 2, 4, 5 (x2), 6, 8								7v
18	1002	v. 6								8v
19	2126	v. 8	v. 8		v. 7					9r
20	315	v. 7				vv. 2, 4				9v
22	808	v. 2			v. 4					10r
23	1469		v. 6							10v
24	275	v. 5								11r
25	1476	vv. 1, 3								11v

<sup>586</sup> Ternaria first.

26	360			v. 7 (x2)						12r
27	73a	vv. 20, 30				vv. 11, 28, 32			v. 40 <sup>587</sup>	12r– 13r
28	1811		vv. 2, 4							13r
30	1479		v. 6							14r
31	1410	vv. 1, 3								14v
33	1843									15v
35	1181	v. 8	v. 4							16v
51	733									23r
66	283			v. 6						30r
67	389						v. 7			30v
68	1575						v. 9			31r
77	15					v. 9	v. 6 <sup>588</sup>			34v
78	1198						v. 4 <sup>589</sup>			35r

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<sup>587</sup> Ternaria first (up-down).

<sup>588</sup> Ternaria first.

<sup>589</sup> Ternaria first.



# NOTATOR 2

Song		Ligature Type										folio
		Binaria	Ternaria			Quaternaria						
		Simplex	Descending		Ascending	Descending			Turn			
<i>V</i>	R-S		Single note + binaria	Compound plica	Single note + binaria	Binaria+plica	Conjunct binariae	Single note+ternaria	Two binariae	Single note+ternaria	Binaria + plica	
114	2086				v. 6							49r
136	199		v. 2									58r
140	1204		v. 4									59v
141	505							v. 6				60r
144	1605		v. 3					v. 6				61r
150	1864								v. 4 <sup>590</sup>			63r
151	1157		v. 6									63v
153	2093				v. 2							64r
156	299						v. 6					65r
157	1841			v. 1								66r
162	1747							v. 6				67v
167	423					v. 4						69v
168	1148							v. 3				70r
170	1786					v. 2						70v
172	2088					v. 2		v. 4				71r
176	742						v. 10					72r
183	590/1328							v. 5				74v
186	209							v. 10				75v
187	1536	v. 3										76r
188	882	v. 2										76v
189	40			v. 1								76v
191	1876			v. 8								77v
192	1559		v. 10									77v

<sup>590</sup> Descending then ascending.

197	679			v. 2								80r
198	1402		v. 2									80v
216	1964							v. 5				87v
217	172	v. 10										87v
218	460							v. 4				88r
219	1390						v. 2					88v
220	1098	v. 2										88v
222	438		v. 11									89v
225	1692	v. 5										90v
232	429	v. 4										93v
234	1391/1409							v. 4				94r
238	1661								v. 7 <sup>591</sup>			95v
247	1266		v. 4									99r
254	1597					v. 7						101r
257	1265								v. 6 <sup>592</sup>			102r
266	1010							v. 5				105v
271	2124						v. 1					107r
272	1007							v. 3				107v
273	111									v. 8		108r
276	1495/1950		v. 5									109v
281	1876		v.4	v. 7				vv. 5, 6				110v
283	1211						v. 3					111v
284	1789						vv. 1, 3				v. 7	112r
286	2054			v. 4								113r
287	1779/2119		vv. 1, 2									113v
289	1227	v. 2										114v
294	1887							v. 7				116v
297	2107							vv. 1, 3, 12				118r
301	1568/1958/1508							v. 4				119r

<sup>591</sup> Ascending then descending.

<sup>592</sup> Ascending then descending.

# Appendix D

## Musical Transcriptions

### Transcription 1, *Li nouviaux tans et mais et violete*, RS 985

*M* fol. 53v

1. Li nou - vauz tanz et mais et vi - o - le - te 2. et lou - ssei - gnolz me se - mont de chan - ter

*T* fol. 155v

Li no - veaus tans *et* mais . *et* vi - o - le - te . *et* rou - ssi - gnols me se - mont de chan - ter .

*A* fol. 155r

Li nou - viaus tans *et* mais *et* vi - o - le - te . *et* rou - sei - gnaus mi se - mont de kan - ter .

*a* fol. 13v

Li nou - viaus tans *et* mais *et* vi - o - le - te . *et* rou - sei - gnaus mi se - mont de kan - ter .

*U* fol. 38r

Li tens d'es - té *et* mais e vi - o - le - te *et* ro - si - gnols me se - mo - nent d'a - mer

*O* f. 73v

Li no - veax temps et maiz *et* vi - o - le - te *et* ro - ssi - gnoz me se - moi - gnent d'a - mer

*K* p. 95

Li nou - viaus tens et mais et vi - o - le - te li ro - si - gnox me se - mont de chan - ter

*L* fol. 62v

Li nou - viaus tans *et* mais *et* vio - le - te li rou - ssi - gnous me se - mont de chan - ter

*P* fol. 30v

Li nou - viaus tens et mais *et* vi - o - le - te li ro - si - gnol me se - mont de chan - ter

*X* fol. 69r

Li nou - viaus tens et mais et vi - o - le - te li ro - si - gnox me se - mont de chan - ter

*R* fol. 129v

Li nou - veax tamps et mays et vi - o - le - tte et rou - ssi - gnols me se - mont de chan - ter

*V* fol. 75r

1. Li nou - viaus tens et mais et vi - o - le - te 2. li rou - ssi - gnos me se - mont de chan - ter

M 3. et mes fins cuers me fait d'un - e a - mou - re - te 4. si douz pre - sent que ne'l os re - fu - ser

T et mes fins cuers me fait d'un - e a - mou - re - te si douc pre - sent ke n'el os re - fu - ser .

A et mes fins cuers me fait d'un - e a - mou - re - te . si douc pre - sent ke ne l'os re - fu - ser .

a et mes fins cuers me fait d'un - e a - mou - re - te . si douc pre - sent que ne l'os re - fu - ser .

U et mes fins cuers me fait d'un - e a - mo - re - te si dolz pre - sent que ne'l doi re - fu - ser

O et mes fins cuers me fait d'un - e a - mo - re - te si douz pre - sent ne'l doit nuns re - fu - ser

K et mes fins cuers m'a fet d'un - e a - mo - re - te un douz pre - sent que je n'os re - fu - ser

L et mes fins cuers m'a fet d'un - e a - mou - re - te d'un douz pre - sant que je n'os re - fu - ser

P et mes fins cuers m'a fet d'un - e a - mo - re - te .i. douz pre - sent que je n'os re - fu - ser

X et mes fins cuers m'a fait d'un - e a - mo - re - te un douz pre - sent que je n'oz re - fu - ser

R et mez fins cuers m'i fet d'un - e a - mou - re - te si doulz pre - sent que ne l'os re - fu - ser

V 3. et mes finz cuers m'a fet d'un - e a - mou - re - te 4. .i. douz pre - sent que je n'os re - fu - ser

M  
8  
5. or me lait diex en tel - e ho - neur mon - ter 6. que cel - e u j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

T  
8  
or me laist diex en tel ho - nor mon - ter . ke ce - le ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

A  
8  
or me laist diex en ce - le o - nnur mon - ter . ke ce - le u j'ai mon chuers et mon pen - ser .

a  
8  
or me laist diex en ce - le o - nnur mon - ter . que che - le u j'ai mon chuers et mon pen - ser .

U  
8  
or me doint dex a tel ho - nor mon - ter que cel - e ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pan - ser

O  
8  
or me lait dex en tel ho - nor mon - ter que cel - e ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - sey

K  
8  
or me dont dex en tel - e ho - nor mon - ter que ce - le ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

L  
8  
or me doint diex en tel o - nnour mon - ter que ce - le ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

P  
8  
or me dont dex en tel - e ho - nor mon - ter que ce - le ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

X  
8  
or me doint dex en tel - e ho - nor mon - ter que ce - le ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

R  
8  
or m'i laist diex en tel - e ho - nnour mon - ter qu'en cell - e ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

V  
8  
5. or me doint diex en tel - e ho - nour mon - ter 6. que ce - le ou j'ai mon cuer et mon pen - ser

M 7. tie - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te 8. an - coiz qu' ai - lle ou - tre - mer

T tiegne u - ne fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te . ains k' en ai - lle ou - tre - mer

A tie - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te . ains ke voi - se ou - tre - mer .

a tie - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te . ains ke voi - se ou - tre - mer .

U ten - gne un - e nuit en - tre mes bras nu - e - tte ains que je voi - se ol - tre - mer

O soit un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te ains que j' ai - lle ou - tre - mer

K tien - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te ains que voi - se ou - tre - mer

L tie - gne u - ne fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te ains que je m' en voi - se ou - tre - mer

P tien - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te ains que m' en doi - e a - ler

X tie - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te ains que voi - se ou - tre - mer

R soit un - e foys en - tre mez bras nu - e - tte ains que voi - se oul - tre - mer

V 7. tie - gne un - e fois en - tre mes bras nu - e - te 8. ains que je voi - se ou - tre - mer

Transcription 2, *Li rousignous chante tant*, RS 360

*B* fol. 5v

8 1. Li ro - ci - gnous chan - te tant 2. qu'il chiet mors tel ar - bre jus

*F* fol. 117r

8 Li rou - si - gnos chan - te tant qe mors chiet de l'ar - bre jus

*O* fol. 70v

8 Li ro - ssi - gnoz chan - te tant qu'il chiet morz de l'ar - bre jus

*Mt* fol. 65v

8 Li ro - ssi - gnox chan - te tant que mors chiet de l'au - bre jus

*R(2)* fol. 170r

8 Li rou - ssi - gnos chan - te tant que mors chiet de l'ar - bre jus

*K* p. 24

8 Li ro - si - gnox chan - te tant q'il chiet mors de l'ar - bre jus

*X* fol. 23v

8 Li ro - si - gnox chan - te tant qu'il chiet mort de l'ar - bre jus

*V* fol. 12r

8 Li rou - si - gnos chan - te tant qu'il chiet mors de l'ar - bre jus

*R(1)* fol. 72v

8 1. Li ro - si - gnos chan - te tant 2. que il chiet mors de l'ar - bre jus

*B* 3. si bel mort ne vit nus 4. si dous ne si plai - sant  
*F* si bie - le mort ne vit nuls tant dou - ce ne si plai - sant  
*O* si be - le mort ne vit nus tant dou - ce ne si plai - sant  
*Mt* si be - le mort ne vit nus tant dou - ce ne si plai - sant  
*R(2)* si be - lle mort ne vit nus tant dou - ce ne si plai - sant  
*K* si be - le mort ne vit nus tant dou - ce ne si ple - sant  
*X* si be - le mort ne vit nus tant dou - ce ne si ple - sans  
*V* si be - le mort ne vit nus si dou - ce ne si ple - sant  
*R(1)* 3. si be - lle mort ne vit nulz 4. tant dou - ce ne si plai - sant



*B* 5. au - tre - si muir en chan - tant 6. a haus criz  
*F* au - tre - si muir en chan - tant a plains a - cris  
*O* au - tre - si muir en chan - tant a hauz criz  
*Mt* au - tre - ssi muir en chan - tant a plainz criz  
*R(2)* au - tre - si muir en chan - tant a haus cris  
*K* au - tre - si muir en chan - tant a hauz criz  
*X* au - tre - si muir en chan - tant a haut cris  
*V* au - tre - si muir en chan - tant a haus criz  
*R(1)* 5. au - tre - si muir en chan - tant 6. a haus criz

*B* 7. *et* si ne puis 8. de ma da - me es - tre o - ïz  
*F* ne je ne puis de ma da - me ies - tre ois  
*O* que je ne puis de ma da - me es - tre o - ïz  
*Mt* ne je ne puis de ma da - me es - tre o - ïz  
*R(2)* *et* si ne puis de ma da - me es - tre o - ïs  
*K* quant je ne puis de ma da - me es - tre o - ïz  
*X* que je ne puis de ma da - me es - tre o - ïs  
*V* que je ne puis de ma da - me es - tre o - ïz  
*R(1)* 7. *et* si ne puis 8. de ma da - me es - tre ou - ïz

9. n'e - le de moi pi - tié a - voir ne dai - gne

n'e - le de moi pi - tié a - voir ne den - gne

n'e - le de moi pi - tié a - voir ne dain - gne

n'e - le de moi pi - tiez a - voir ne dai - gne

ne de moi a - voir pi - tié ne dai - gne

n'e - le de moi a - voir pi - tié ne dai - gne

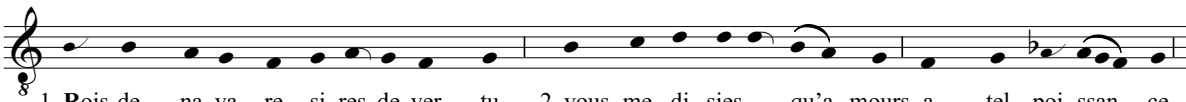
n'e - le de moi a - voir pi - tié ne dai - gne

n'e - le de moi a - voir pi - tié ne dai - gne

9. N'e - lle de mi a - voir pi - tié ne dain - gne


### Transcription 3, *Rois de Navarre, sires de vertu*, RS 2063

*M* fol. 85v



1. Rois de na-va - re si-res de ver - tu . 2. vous me di - sies qu'a - mours a tel poi-ssan - ce .

*T* fol. 97v




Rois de na-va-re *et* si-res de ver - tu . vous me di - sies k'a - mors a plus poi-ssan - ce .

*K* page 140




Rois de na-va - rre si-re de ver - tu ; vous nos di - tes qu'a - mors a grant pui-ssan - ce .

*R* fol. 41v



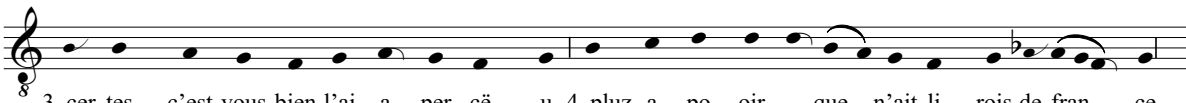
Roy de na-va - rre si-re de ver - tus . vous me di-ssiez qu'a - mours a plus pui-ssan - ce

*V* fol. 84v




Rois de na-va-re *et* si-res de ver - tuz . vous nous di - tes qu'a - mors a grant pui-ssan - ce .

*M*



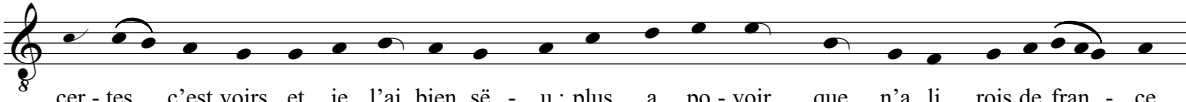
3. cer-tes c'est vous bien l'ai a - per - cẽ - u . 4. pluz a po - oir que n'ait li rois de fran - ce .

*T*




cer - tes c'est voirs bien l'a a - per - chẽ - u . plus a po - oir ke n'ait li rois de fran - ce .

*K*



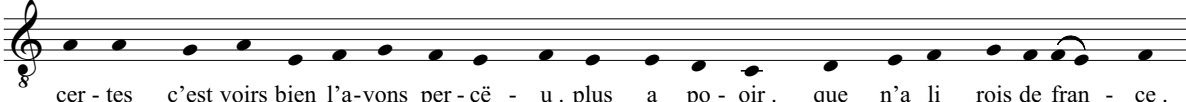
cer - tes c'est voirs et je l'ai bien sẽ - u ; plus a po - voir que n'a li rois de fran - ce .

*R*



Cer - tes c'est voirs bien l'ai a - per - cẽ - u a - sses plus grans que n'est li rois de fran - ce .

*V*



cer - tes c'est voirs bien l'a-vons per - cẽ - u . plus a po - oir . que n'a li rois de fran - ce .

*M* 5. quar de touz maus puet dou - ner a - le - jan - ce 6. et de la mort con - fort et gua - ri - son .

*T* ke de tos maus puet do - ner a - lei - jan - ce ; et de la mort con - fort et ga - ri - son .

*K* car de touz max puet do - nner a - le - jan - ce . et de la mort con - fort et gue - ri - son .

*R* Que de touz maus puet do - nner a - le - jan - ce et de la mort con - fort et ga - ri - son .

*V* car de touz maus puet do - nner a - lei - gan - ce . et de la mort con - fort et gue - ri - son .

*M* 7. ce ne po - rroit fai - re nus mor - teuz hom . 8. qu'a - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser .

*T* ce ne po - rroit fai - re nus mor - tex hom . k'a - mors fait bien le ri - che do - lo - ser

*K* et ne po - rroit fe - re nus mor - tiex hom . qu'a - mors fet bien le ri - che do - lo - ser ;

*R* Ce ne pou - rroit fai - re nus mor - tiex homs . Que a - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - sser .

*V* ce ne po - rroit fe - re nus mor - tiex hom qu'a - mours fet bien le ri - che do - lou - ser .

*M* 9. et le povere de joie ca-ro - ler .

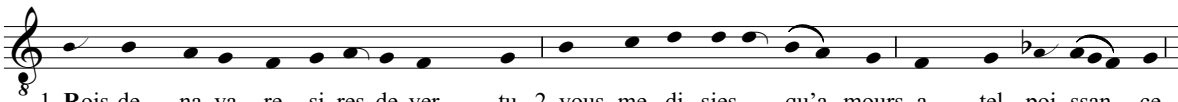
*T* et le povere de joie ka-ro - ler .


*K* et le povere de joie co-ro - nner .

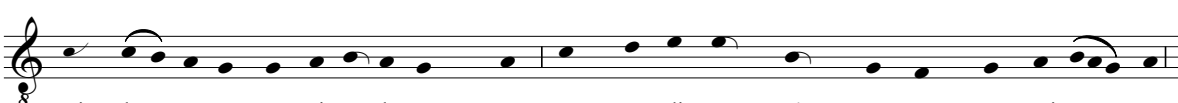
*R* Et le povere de joie ka-ro - ler .


*V* et le povere de joie qua-ro - ler


# Transcription 3b, *Rois de Navarre, Sires de vertu*, RS 2063

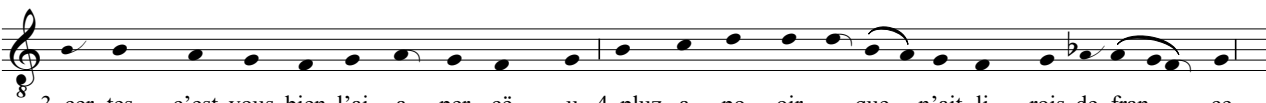
*M* fol. 85v  1. Rois de na-va - re si-res de ver - tu . 2. vous me di-sies qu'a - mours a tel poi-ssan - ce .


*T* fol. 97v  Rois de na-va - re *et* si-res de ver - tu . vous me di-sies k'a - mors a plus poi-ssan - ce .


*K* page 140  Rois de na-va - rre si-re de ver - tu ; vous nos di - tes qu'a - mors a grant pui-ssan - ce .

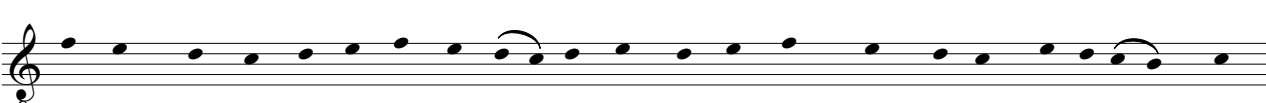
*R* fol. 41v  Roy de na-va - rre si-re de ver - tus . vous me di-ssiez qu'a - mours a plus pui-ssan - ce


*V* fol. 84v  Rois de na-va - rre *et* si-res de ver - tuz . vous nous di - tes qu'a - mors a grant pui-ssan - ce .

*M*  3. cer-tes c'est vous bien l'ai a - per - cẽ - u . 4. pluz a po - oir que n'ait li rois de fran - ce .

*T*  cer - tes c'est voirs bien l'a a - per - chẽ - u . plus a po - oir ke n'ait li rois de fran - ce .

*K*  cer - tes c'est voirs et je l'ai bien sẽ - u ; plus a po - voir que n'a li rois de fran - ce .

*R*  Cer - tes c'est voirs bien l'ai a - per - cẽ - u a - sses plus grans que n'est li rois de fran - ce .

*V*  cer - tes c'est voirs bien l'a-vons per - cẽ - u . plus a po - oir . que n'a li rois de fran - ce .

*M* 8 5. quar de touz maus puet dou - ner a - le - jan - ce 6. et de la mort con - fort et gua - ri - son .

*T* 8 ke de tos maus puet do - ner a - lei - jan - ce ; *et* de la mort con - fort *et* ga - ri - son .

*K* 8 car de touz max puet do - nner a - le - jan - ce . et de la mort con - fort et gue - ri - son .

*R* 8 Que de touz maus puet do - nner a - le - jan - ce *et* de la mort con - fort et ga - ri - son .

*V* 8 car de touz maus puet do - nner a - lei - gan - ce . et de la mort con - fort et gue - ri - son .

*M* 8 7. ce ne po - rroit fai - re nus mor - teuz hom . 8. qu'a - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser .

*T* 8 ce ne po - rroit fai - re nus mor - tex hom . k'a - mors fait bien le ri - che do - lo - ser

*K* 8 et ne po - rroit fe - re nus mor - tiex hom . qu'a - mors fet bien le ri - che do - lo - ser ;

*R* 8 Ce ne pou - rroit fai - re nus mor - tiex homs . Que a - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - sser .

*V* 8 ce ne po - rroit fe - re nus mor - tiex hom qu'a - mours fet bien le ri - che do - lou - ser .



*M* 9. et le pov-re de joi-e ca-ro - ler .

*T* et le po-vre de joi-e ka-ro - ler .

*K* et le pov-re de joi-e co-ro - nner .

*R* Et le po-vre de joi-e ka-ro - ler .

*V* et le po-vre de joi-e qua-ro - ler